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ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ' ἩΜΕ'ΡΑ.

A
DISCOURSE
IN
SIX DIALOGUES
ON THE
Name, Notion, and Observation
OF THE
LORD'S DAY.

WITH
An Account of several Canons, Decrees, and
Laws, *Foreign and English*, for the keep-
ing it holy.

The Way of Worship in the Church of *England*,
vindicated. And,

An Office, or Collection of DEVOTIONS,
proper for the Day.

By THO. MORER, Rector of the United Pa-
rishes of SS. Ann and Agnes, within Alderf-
gate, and S. John Zachary, London.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν πᾶσι Κυριακὴν διὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Atha-
nas. de Sem.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Tho. Newborough, at the Golden
Ball in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1701.



REverendo admodum in Christo Patri,
Domino Honoratissimo,

Eccles. { Catholicæ, } Pastori Vigilantissimo,
 { Anglicanæ, }

Reg. { Caroli 2. } de Secretis Consiliario Fidelissimo,
 { Jacobi 2. }
 { Gulielmi 3. }

Regiæ Capellæ, } Decano Ornatissimo,
Provinciæ Cant. }

Patrono suo Colendissimo,

HENRICO

Permissione Divinâ

EPISCOPO LONDINENSI,

Hæc de

Nomine, Qualitate, Celebratione,

DIEI DOMINICÆ

COLLECTANEA

(Levidense equidem pro Tot Tantisque Beneficiis

MUNUSCULUM,

Verum tamen Animi grati

Testimonium, Pignus, Monumentum)

Humiliter D. D. D.

T. M.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

Reader,

YOU may expect perhaps to be told, according to custom, that the Authority of some of my friends or the Importunity of others forced me to the publication of what you find in the following sheets; But I offer no such Apology, nor will I use my friends so ill as to hazard their Reputation to secure thereby my Own. This only I say, That if you receive any benefit by what is here written, Let your Charity suppose that to be the true reason; and if this reason be wanting, I am afraid no other will excuse me.

But waving this, 'Tis necessary I should lay before you the sum of this Book, which consists of a Controversie between the Church and these Five sorts of Men. First, Libertines,

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bertines, who allow no Set-days for the Service of God, but would be left to their own Will to worship as their humour and fancy lead 'em. Secondly, Sabbatarians or such as contend for the Jewish Sabbath, and stand to the perpetual obligation of the Fourth Commandment, both as to the day itself and the manner of Keeping it. Thirdly, Those who reject the Saturday-Sabbath, yet take up the Morality of the Seventh-day, and will have it to be the appointment of God and Nature. Fourthly, Such as consider the Lords day *de Jure Divino* strictly, and make it the institution of Christ or his Apostles; and on that account, of the same influence on Christians under the Gospel, as the Sabbath had over the Jews by the Law of Moses. Fifthly the Prophaners of the Festival who by their misbehaviour or neglect of holy duties to be done on this day, too openly declare they lay no stress on it, and think they incur no Spiritual danger if they do not observe it. All these with some other mistakes concerning the manner of Our Churches Service on the day are examined in their Turns, and the Names and Notion of

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of the Lord's-day fully explain'd and directions added to keep it well.

The Office may seem impracticable for proposing more than a man is well able to do. And as to this exception I might excuse myself by the number and authority of those pious Divines out of whose devotions I made the Collection. But I only say, I intend an help and not a rule: And if the Notary comes not up to it, I Judge him not; yet give me leave to apply those words of our Lord, He that is able to receive it, let him receive it---And if a man's Will and Strength be such as to attempt the work, I was loath he should want directions; And let such a one use me as his guide and not his Master.

I speak very much in the language of the Authors I had occasion to consult; partly in Justice to them, and partly with regard to myself, who have cause enough to distrust my own performances: And therefore for fear any thing relating to this Argument should suffer by my words, I chose rather to borrow theirs, who are admired for their Learning or Piety in this or other ages.

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ages. So that, if in multiplicity of citations there appear Vanity, Ostentation or Digression, Modesty and Honesty must make my excuse, who acknowledge with Pliny, that to chuse rather to be taken in a theft than to give every Man his due is *obnoxii Animi & infœlicis Ingenii*. And herein I follow the example of * St. Jerom, who professes that in a great measure he made only a Collection of what others before him had said on the same Subject. And if I say what has bin often said, I do it on St. Augustine's reason, That 'tis for the Good of Christ-Church that the same things be written by diverse Men that so the Truth may spread the further. But the Apostle has a better warrant for me (Heb. 1. 1.) God at sundry times and in diverse manners hath spoken (the same thing) to the Fathers and us.

If any should call this an unseasonable dispute, and think I contribute to the propa-

* *Cautior atq; timidior imbecillitatem virium mearum sentiens Origenis commentarios sum securus, &c. Proœm: in Ep. ad Galat.*

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nation of the day, (which all good Men are labouring against) by lessening the Obligations laid upon 'em to reverence and observe it; I answer, that to set every thing on its right Foot, I have always thought it the likeliest way to keep it standing. Sure I am the Lord's Day has such and so many Authorities to gain it Veneration, that it does not want any Writer's Art to support and recommend it: And therefore either to prevent, or remove all the Cavils, the Prophaners of the Day do, or may catch at, to colour their Remissness, is to leave 'em more excuseless before God and Man. But we shall meet with this in the Body of the Discourse, so I dismiss it here.

The Discourse is by Dialogue, as a more natural, familiar, and easie way: And if any doubts arise, they are better thus proposed, and more intelligibly answered, than they could otherwise be. However, the Method is pleasant, and People are sooner invited to read a Subject delivered in this manner. I have great Examples of this kind, whose Figure and Number

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ber are able to excuse me. And this must be my Apology for those many Excursions from the main Subject throughout this Piece, against the strict Rules of Argument and Art: For it is in conformity to the way of People in common Discourse, † wherein new Questions are apt to start from the Answers made to what goes before. And this might have appeared a piece of Art, if I had imitated Nature well. Yet I hope nothing has intruded, but what may be serviceable to an unprejudiced Reader; whose insight in this Controversie I shall not so far scruple, as to suppose he will think the Digressions so many, or some Matters so impertinent, as at first sight they seem to be.

I have made the Debaters Men of Moderation and Temper, because Passion and Eagerness seldom discover Truth: And when Disputants are bitter and violent (which they miscall Zeal) all they aim at, is Victory, and to settle an Opinion, without considering whether they be in the right

† Alia ex aliis trahimus — Reuchlin de Art. Cabal. l. 1.

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or no. The Opponent therefore makes one of our Congregation, tho' he be not well satisfied with all the Instances of the Publick Service: Yet notwithstanding his dislike of divers Particulars in it, he believes Separation an ill Remedy; and therefore, according to the way of Charitable and Prudent Men, he chuses rather to bear a great deal, than to distract the Church, and disturb the Peace of it: For he dreads the sad Effects and Consequences of Schism; and remembers the Maxim of Old and New Rome, Divide and we shall master 'em. The Subject I am upon, puts us in mind, That as God created us all in one Nature, so he redeem'd us to be all of one Name. Difference of Stiles are apt to divide Men. To be sure, when their Notions are not the same, their Affections will stand at a distance; and then beginning to dispute and quarrel, while each Party contends for the right way, we are all of us in danger to lose it. This let us remember, that Jesus our Saviour (whose Resurrection we weekly celebrate on this day) died upon the Cross, To gather together in one the Children

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Children of God, *that so there might be one Fold, and one Shepherd. The first Christians were of one heart, and one mind; They worshipped God in one way, and in one Place; They had one Lord, and one Faith.—May we follow them as they did Christ, that our Creed and Practice being the very same, we may all of us get to the same Glory, and that Eternal Rest, of which this day is the Emblem.*

Amen.

Note, That [A] means him who likes, and defends the Constitution of the Church as it is at present. [B] Him who complies, but not without finding Fault with it.

ERRATA.

PAg. 24. Lin. 19. r. *visible Son of God.* p. 129. l. 31. r. *and the week been made.* p. 133. l. 12. r. *owed Job a spite.* p. 142. l. 24. r. *Seder Olam Rabba.* p. 247. l. 1. r. *Nations.* p. 248. l. 19. r. *rejoicing.* p. 249. l. ult. r. *attending.* p. 253. l. 10. r. *oftner.* p. 276. l. 4. r. *to worship God.* p. 320. l. 35. r. *House of the Lord.* p. 330. l. 4. r. *promised it.* p. 391. l. 21. r. *and was worn out in the following Ages.* p. 428. l. 8. r. *every thought.* In the Notes, p. 132. r. *desumpta.* p. 534. r. *Psal-*
lentiam Græcorum.

THE

A
DISCOURSE,

By Way of DIALOGUE,

ON THE

Lord's-Day.

DIALOGUE I.

The CONTENTS.

Too much thoughtfulness injurious to health. The reason of it. The Body not to be neglected. The Sympathy between Body and Soul. How they mutually act on one another. The word [Sabbath] not proper for the Lords-Day. How the word is to be understood in the Fathers. Altar and Priest not improper. The Lords Supper a Sacrifice. What kind of Sacrifice. The Question in Minucius Felix cleared about Temples and Altars. Q. Maries Statute about Altars. Whether repealed. Queen Elizabeth's injunction for Tables instead of Altars. Sunday, why the Lord's-Day so called. Whether it

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be

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*be a Gentile Name. The Mystical and Natural reason of that Name. The Order of the Planets according to Ptolemy. Their Influence and Pre-
sidentship over the days of the Week. Objections of Scaliger and Selden answer'd. Ptolemy's Order very ancient. The names of the Days of long standing, but only among the Astronomers, and not admitted into the Civil account to constitute a Week till the times of Dionysius Exiguus. Cicero's Hebdomada Quarta. The Seventh Day Critical among the Physicians. Saxon Names for the Days of the Week. The word [Feria] referrs to the Heathens, as Sabbath to the Jews. St. John's Lords-Day, what? Whether Easter-Day or some other Great Festival, or the Day of Judgment. The Apocalypse examined. Authorities and Reasons for and against it. The usefulness of Tradition. It may explain St. John, but is no infallible Proof. The Lords-Day by whom appointed. Why it is not called Christs-Day, as appropriated to him.*

A. **M**Y good Neighbour, I am glad to see you in this place, after your long confinement by Sickness.

B. Sir, I thank you. I have been a Prisoner for a great while; and, which was the sting of my confinement, not only denied Liberty, but kept to my Bed and Chamber in a great deal of misery; which makes me the more desirous to go abroad, having some low degree of Strength given me, to try what effect the *Air* will have towards my Recovery.

A. You do well: For the *Air* not only refreshes, but may be said to feed the Body, provided it be good, as this is, and that you take convenient hours for your walk, being out neither too early nor too late, at both which times it is commonly disturb'd with

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with several *Vapours*, which may rather injure than help you. And one thing more, let me caution you of; Your Looks bespeak you *serious* and *thoughtful*, and you seem to me a greater Student than suits your present condition.

B. I must confess, my Thoughts were not idle, though not in so deep a Meditation as to give me the character of a *Philosopher* or a *Pharisee*: And one end I propos'd to my self in it, was, to make my Walk the easier, by employing the Mind, and keeping it from attending to the complaints and wearisomness of the Body.

A. 'Tis true, Meditation shortens the way: But the end, you say, of your going abroad is for the Air's-sake, to help your Recovery. Now this design is frustrated by so much Thoughtfulness; because *to Think*, is to limit the Soul to the Subject you are upon, and so in a great measure you withdraw it from the service it owes the Body, which thereupon suffers more than you are aware of, and is much expos'd to the reliques of your Distemper. Besides —

B. Pray, Sir, hold a little. I do not understand you.

A. You must needs know, that the *Body* hath neither life nor motion without the *Soul*: And therefore at death, when the *Soul* is gone, the *Body* becomes a mere Carcass, and breaths no more. Now then, if the *Soul* be so necessary to enliven and quicken the *Body*, whenever you call the *Soul* from that part of its ministry (which is done by much *Meditation*) by this means you bring a *numbness* on the Faculties, and hinder the good improvement they might make of the *Air*, or any thing else which would be serviceable to the Body.

B. I believe this to be the reason, why many of your great *Scholars* are so *spare and thin*, because they

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they hardly admit the least respite from their Studies, but will, with *Aquinas*, be drawing Conclusions at the very *Table*; so that what they eat and drink doth 'em little good, for the Reason you give, namely, the retirement of the Soul, which being so very intent on other matters, it cannot communicate to the Stomach so much Heat and Motion as is necessary to digest it.

A. I think they are to blame for it: *Extremes* are dangerous, and ought to be avoided. I must confess, a pamper'd Body is not easily govern'd, it affects and disables the Mind, casts a cloud on the Understanding, clogs the Brain, and is a great enemy to the practice of Piety, (for which and the like Reasons it must be subdued, and the *Ass* kept under, as *St. Bernard* speaks, to keep it from kicking;) yet after all, I must needs say, it is a thing not to be despised or neglected: The *Make* of it was enough to astonish *David*, and dispute *Galen* into the belief of a Deity. In truth, it deserves part of our care; nor are we to look on it so vile a thing, but that for its *own* and the *Creator's sake* it ought to be valuable to us, and in a moderate way we are to cherish and feed it.

B. The Apostles, *John* and *Paul*, warrant what you say; yet I have often heard our *Ministers* teach us the contrary, who think they can never enough commend the *Soul*, unless they disparage the *Body*, and make it one of the most contemptible things in the world, calling it *Clay*, and I know not what; whereas we may observe, that the Lord *Christ* had an honourable notion of it, and made it the subject of almost all his Miracles which he wrought for the *preserving, sustaining and healing the Body of Man* (a).

(a) Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, B. 2. pag. 41.

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A. He that would straighten a crooked Stick always bends it the other way (b). Our *Ministers* take notice how much we indulge the *Flesh* to the prejudice of the *Spirit*, and that we bestow much more Cost and Care on the *one* than on the *other*; and therefore there lies a necessity on 'em to use this method, thereby to bring us, not so much into a disesteem of the *Body*, as to a greater respect for the *Soul*, which seems slighted, and never thought on. And as for those vile Characters you object, they are occasionally offer'd for some *Persons* and *Times*. In the Primitive Ages *some* were forced to plead for the *Body*, as *these* do for the *Soul*, that so they might keep the ancient Christians from exposing themselves needlessly to the fury of their Persecutors, out of a rash and unreasonable Zeal to be accounted *Martyrs*; and our Teachers would do the same, but that they find we love the *Flesh* more than our *Religion*.

B. It may be so. Well, Sir, be pleas'd to pursue your Argument.

A. I say then, *To Think*, is *Action*: But *Action* continued, ends in *Weariness*, which on a double account is bad for the *Body*; first, because the *Soul* is made *dull* by it, and becomes incapable to discharge its duty to the *Body*; and, secondly, it communicates that Languor to its part'ner, and concurs with the Disease to make the *Body* weaker than before.

B. I conceive not, how either of these can be true. For, as to the *first*, that a thing is *weary*, proceeds from the *grossness* of Matter wherewith it is incumbred and clogg'd; but the *Soul* has no *Matter*, being like the *Angels* and *Spirits* above, who

(b) *Solent hortulani, &c. Saunderson. prælect. 2. de bona intentione, N. 21. Rivet. Critic. Sacr. c. 11. Contraria contrariis curantur, Extrema extremis. Aphor. Medic.*

hourly contemplate the Divine Nature, yet neither are nor can be *weary*, for that would destroy the Notion of *Blessedness* in the other State.

A. The state of the Soul in *this* World and *that* to come is not the same: *There* indeed its condition is such, that, comparatively speaking, it may be called *Actus Purus*, because of no impediment or hindrance to its operation. But *here* it is not so: For though in it self it be not *material*, yet it is tied to *Matter*, which is no small weight to it, and makes it act with some repugnance and difficulty, and is the reason why a Man is so often *tired with thinking*.

B. If this be the reason, then the Soul would be under no better terms in Heaven, because the *Body* as well as the *Soul* shall be blessed above, and consequently there will be the same *impediment* in both Places.

A. Not so neither: For *there* our Bodies are to be refined and glorified; all the dullness and grossness of *Matter* will be done away. In comparison of what they now are, they are named *spiritual*; not that strictly they are turned into *Spirits*; for if so, they would be no longer *Bodies*; but they are guided by the Blessed *Spirit*, and so prepared and ordered that the Souls act as freely, as if altogether abstracted or separated from 'em.

B. Well, allowing the *Soul* to be somewhat *tired with much thinking*, yet how can this Languor be communicated to the *Body*? What Commerce or mutual Affection can there possibly be between things of such different Natures as *Spirit* and *Matter*?

A. *Heat* and *Cold* as much differ, yet they affect one another.

B. But these are bare *Qualities*, having one and the same Subject or *Matter* between 'em, and by this *medium* they may easily succeed, and in some

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some degree consist together : But there is no such *subject* here, and therefore by what *mean* or conveyance can the *Body* and *Soul* possess each other ?

A. Tho' *Body* and *Soul* are Substances very *unlike*, if considered in *themselves*, yet *both* concur to make a *Man* ; and as *one constitution*, they subsist, rejoyce and suffer together. Now the *copula* between 'em (whatever name it has) is the common passage to *both*, and becomes the same thing to the *Body* and *Soul*, as the Matter is to the aforesaid Qualities.

B. But again ; (c) As to *Heat* and *Cold*, or other Instances of that kind, they cannot move without their own *alteration*, and ceasing to be what they were before, as *Cold* spends it self by acting on the *Fire*, and so on the contrary ; either then the *Union* between *Body* and *Soul* is not such as to admit this *Sympathy*, or else because of it, they remain not as they were.

A. As to things subject to *change*, every such *Union* causes a *change* in 'em, as in the mixture of Elements and their Qualities : But in *Intelligent Beings*, such as the *Soul* is, it holds not good. For though it be united to the *Body*, yet its Substance is too pure to admit alteration, and that is the reason of its *Immortality*. And this we may take for a good illustration of that inexplicable *Union* of the *Two Natures* in the Person of *Christ* without *confusion* or *change*.

B. But then this confirms my conceit, That there cannot be that mutual *acting*, you propose, between the *Body* and *Soul* ; because to *affect* any thing, is to *alter*, and render it not the same.

(c) *Ignis & aqua — si cominus venerint, alterutrum quod superaverit, conficiat alterum, necesse est. Lactant. de Orig. Error. n. 9.*

A. If by *Alteration* you mean a *Physical Change*, it cannot be in the *Soul*, because it has no *Matter*, and *Matter* is the Subject of such *Alteration*: Yet as to its *Efficacy* and *Operation* it is not the same, because it acts not with that *freedom* it did before, and on that account it is said to suffer. But to explain this better by your own experience: How often, during your *Sickness*, were you under a *Delirium*? And what was this, but a piece of violence on your Reason, by the rage and malignity of your *Fever*, when not only the *Body* but the *Mind* suffer'd by the excess of the *Distemper*?

B. I confess it, but believe this to proceed from the *Organs*, disabled by the *Disease*, and made unfit for the *Soul* to act by, not that the *Soul* or *Mind* it self was affected with the *Pain*.

A. You are in the right: And hence it is that after a long and violent *Sickness*, there follows in some People such a *Stupidity*, *Forgetfulness* and *Childishness* for the future, that they retain little else besides the *Shapes* and *Faces* of Men, their Memory and Understanding, being taken quite away upon the disability of the Instruments, which the contagion and force of the *Disease* has made useless and incapable to serve 'em. But then this very *Obstruction* is a continual acting and resisting the *Soul*, and this *Action* or *Resistance* powerfully affects it. Let me ask you another Question; Were you not sometimes extremely *dry* in your late Illness, and withal very *impatient* if you were not satisfied?

B. I must needs own it, and was frequently *angry* with my *Nurse* upon the least delay of bringing the *Drink* to me.

A. Do you see, how the violence of your *Drought* influenced your *Mind*, put you into *Passion*, and so far debauched your *Reason* as to make you drink against the Physician's order and your own safety? Now what occasioned this *Drought*, but the

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the vigour of your Distemper, which though properly and strictly belonging to the *Body*, yet the *Soul* was moved with it, and shared in the Fever?

B. I remember it well, and you have put me in a way to improve the oversight: I shall give you no further trouble concerning this affair, unless you please to add a word or two about the *Soul*, and how it affects the *Body*.

A. That will be quickly dispatch'd, provided we consider, That as the *Soul* acts the *Body*, so this must be done in such a way as she is qualified for it; otherwise (which cannot be in Nature) the Cause would outdo it self in the Operation. So that the *Soul* being the *Principle* of *Life* and *Motion* to the *Body*, the *Body* cannot have these things in other sort than as the *Principle* gives 'em. And consequently, if the *Soul* be disturbed, and the *Spirits* oppress'd, which are the means of every Action, it must necessarily follow that the *Body* will be cast down, languish and decay.

B. Instances of this kind are too often seen in the *wild Looks* of People discontented in Mind, and who, by the confusion of their *Face*, *pale Visage*, *want of Stomach*, a general decay, and in the end downright *Sickness*, loudly publish the *Distraction* within; and sometimes the violence is so great as to hurry 'em to fatal designs against themselves, by *drowning*, *hanging*, *shooting*, *cutting the Throat*, and the like, of which we have most Weeks in our Bills some lamentable Examples. But may not all this be charged on the abundance and dominion of *ill humours* in the *Body*, without any regard to the *Mind* or *Soul*?

A. It is not rarely so: And this proves what was said before concerning the Power of the *Body* over the *Mind*, and is one reason (d) of those many

(d) Sir Francis Bacon, *loc. cit.*

scruples and superstitions of diet and other regiment of the Body in the Sect of the Pythagoreans and in the Law of Mahomet: and was the occasion of the Ordinances of the Ceremonial Law of Moses interdicting the eating of blood and the fat; distinguishing between Beasts clean and unclean, and the like; and argues for our present practice under the Gospel in retaining the use of Fastings, Abstinencies, and other Macerations and Humiliations of the Body. The root and life of all which prescripts is, besides the Ceremony, the consideration of that dependance which the affections of the Mind are submitted unto upon the state and disposition of the Body—However the motive very often proceeds from the Soul, and the wound is begun in Conscience upon the apprehension of disgrace or other misfortune in this World, or the foresight it has of its deplorable Condition in the other. So that in short, we (e) both ways discover the Sympathy we are speaking of; and which we need no more doubt than we do the fellow-feeling or mutual concern the inferiour parts of the Body have for one another. And therefore the passions which come from the Body are given the Soul and called by its name; and according to the different complexions and tempers of the one, the other discovers it self with more or less vigour (f).

B. I yield to what you say, Sir, and I stand indebted to you for this care of my health, yet the Subject I was upon will excuse me, being a Point wherein Body and Soul have an equal interest, and which not only imployed my thoughts when you

(e) Ps. 105. 18. Nehem. 2. 2. (f) *Physicæ rationes docent nos esse Sympathiam inter corpus & animam. Solet enim anima verè affici pro temperatura corporis, nam qui abundat flava aut atra bili animo solet esse iracundo aut mœsto. P. Mart. Loc. Com.*

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I I

came to this place, but which indeed much exercised my *Mind* all the time of my Sickness; looking one while on my danger as a Divine Punishment for my negligence *that way*, and anon taking it as a gracious alarm from God, to make me put on new Resolutions of better diligence for the future, to answer the end of my being here. It is the *Sabbath* I mean, which our Minister yesterday made the *Theme* of his Sermon, and took no little pains to explain and press us to observe it.

A. I suppose you intend the *Lords-Day*, because the Minister you say, was earnest to have you keep it. For as to the *Sabbath*, or day called by that name, it was the day *before*; and tho' it was the great Festival among the *Jews*, yet now 'tis exploded by *us*, and we lie under no obligation to give it particular honour.

B. Right, but I called it *Sabbath* (g) by way of allusion to *that Holiday* of the *Jews* strictly so named, in conformity to some of the *Ancients* who use the same language. For so (h) *Augustine* calls *Thursday* the *fifth of the Sabbath*. And (i) *Jerom*, *Tuesday* the *third of the Sabbath*. (k) And *Tertullian*, *Friday* the *Preparation*—So *Origen*, and others.

A. Tho' the word *Sabbath* be sometimes met with in the Writings of the *Fathers*, yet it means either *that day* constantly appropriated to the *Jewish Sabbath*, namely *Saturday*, or the *Spiritual* and *Mystical Sabbath* typed and represented by the *Sabbath* of the 4th *Commandment*. But when they distinguish and give the proper names to the *days of the Week*, they call *Saturday* Τὸ Σάββατον, and our *Sunday*, *Dominicum*; unless sometimes in their Dis-

(g) *Quasi ab ejus parente Sabbato Judaico*—Young, *de die Dom.*

(h) *Quintum Sabbati*, Aug. Ep. 118. (i) *Tertium Sabbati*, Hieron. Epitaph. Paul. (k) *Parasceve*, Adv. Marc.

putations

putations with the Jews they accommodate themselves to the way of their Adversaries, and so term the *Lords-day* *μία τῶν σαββάτων*, one of the Sabbaths, or the *first Day of the Week*, as *Justin Martyr* doth in the Dialogue between him and *Tryphon*. But elsewhere he saith it is *ἡμέρα τῆς ἡλίας*—or *Sunday*, in more congruous Language, when in his Apology he addresses to the *Gentiles*. But admit the *Fathers* spake in that manner, yet this is very seldom, and for that Reason (1) *Alexander Hales* gives, because *Sabbath-day* taken at large is said to be a day of leisure, i. e. of rest from all other works to serve God the better. And on this account indeed the *Lords-day* may have that name without scandal or prejudice to the Christian Religion.

B. I lay no stress on the word, but consider the thing. And to call the *Lords-day* by the name of the Sabbath may I suppose on several accounts be allowed the Christian Church without any great inconveniency; and therefore Men otherwise sober and moderate ought not to be censur'd with too much severity, neither be charged with Judaism if they so speak.

A. Yet as your (m) Author saith, for sundry respects too, it were perhaps much more expedient, if the word Sabbath were not at all, or more sparingly, used. But that which makes me take notice of it, is, because those Persons who of late years have pitched on the word, and from whose custom you borrow it, will not give other people the same liberty which themselves take, but charge us with Popery and I know not what, for calling the Minister Priest, and the Communion-Table Altar;

(1) P. 3. Q. 32. Qualibet dies statuta ad divinam culturam dici potest Sabbatum—Johan de Burgo—

(m) Bishop Sanderson's Case of Conscience of the Sabbath.

whereas

whereas this way of arguing flies back into their own Faces, and more effectually proves them *Jews* for using the word *Sabbath*, than it makes us *Papists* for entertaining the names of *Priest* and *Altar*. However, I think the way of Speech innocent enough in all Cases but where *Christianity* may suffer, and *weak Brethren* be offended by it, which the *Old Doctors* had a special regard to, and therefore on such occasions forbore all *Jewish* and *Heathenish* words, that they might not be suspected to lean to either side.

B. It was a good reason to make *them* cautious. But there is not, I conceive, any such danger *now*, and so we need not speak with that preciseness.

A. I think the *reason* in a great measure still continues, because we have to deal with a sort of *Men* who rigorously insist on the *Saturday-Sabbath*, and will observe no *other*. So that as *St. Augustine* saith, because of the *ambiguity* of the word, which is not always explained in our ordinary discourse, we may sometimes seem to mean *that* which will be very offensive to our Christian liberty; and by naming the word *Sabbath*, when we should say the *Lords-day*, we may be suspected to be of their *mind* who so much stickle for the *Jewish Notion*.

B. But then is not the Objection full as strong against *Priest* and *Altar*, which may create some jealousy that we are leaning to *Popery*, because these terms naturally suppose a *real Sacrifice* to justify the language, otherwise the words are irrelative and improper; and where there is no *Sacrifice*, it cannot be said there is either *Altar* or *Priest*.

A. You say well, these words do certainly depend one upon the other. If so be therefore we allow *Sacrifices* in our Church, we must in the consequence have *Priests* and *Altars*.

B. Do

B. Do not we *Protestants* except against that language, and find fault with those of the *Romish* perswasion for retaining this Doctrine?

A. That which we object against the *Church of Rome* consists not in words, but in the sense of 'em. They call the Lords-Supper a *Sacrifice*, and so do we, but with this difference, that whereas they mean by it an external, visible, true and proper *Sacrifice*, a literal propitiation for the living and the dead, (which the One and Thirtieth Article of Religion calls a blasphemous, dangerous Fable.) We on the other side use the word in a *Figurative*, *Spiritual* manner, and consider the *Sacrament* as the (*n*) representation and remembrance of what was literally done so many years before; a memorial of that *Sacrifice* once made on the *Cross*, but daily set before us in the ministration of the H. *Mysteries*; wherein, if we say *Christ* is offered, we do it on *St. Augustine's* Reason; (*o*) because if the *Sacraments* had not the likenesses of what they represent, they could not be called *Sacraments*; and from this likeness they usually carry the names of the things themselves; as when in Pictures we say *Cæsar* and *Cicero*, yet none mistake us, or think we mean either of those Persons as now living or present in the place. But 'tis enough to excuse the language, that there is a resemblance of those Persons anciently so called, tho' dead above 1700 years ago. (*p*) So the *Sacrament* of *Christs* Body is by a form of Speech the *Body* of *Christ*, because the *Print* or *Image* of his Body, but then being in strictness the *Sign* only of his Body, if we offer it in the *Sacrament*, it is but to emblem forth his pas-

(*n*) Chrysost. Serm. 17. in Heb. 10. Vid. Forbes Iren. l. 2. &c.

(*o*) Ea est Scripturarum consuetudo ut similitudines appellant nomine ipsarum rerum quas representant. Augustin ad Simplic. Si enim Sacramenta, &c. (*p*) Thus *Ælian* wrote over his Pictures. Τὸ ὁ βῆς, Ἐκεῖ ὁ ἰππῶ, τὸ τὸ δειδῶ, l. 10. c. 10.

sion on Mount *Calvary*, when the *Jews* Crucified and slew him. For there must needs be an *accommodation* in sense between the *Body* and the *Sacrifice*. And therefore if it be not his real *Body* and *Blood* proposed in the Elements, the Action of the Minister makes it no more than the *commemoration* of the former Sacrifice. And if it bears the same name, it must be, as in the case of *Pictures* and *Images*, because it lively *represents* what was *once* in being, and really true. (q) If the *Romanist* could be reduced to this notion of Christs Body in the Sacrament, we would never contend with him about its being a *Sacrifice*. For we readily grant him the *memory* of a Sacrifice in this *mysterious Supper*, but we cannot grant that Christ made of *Bread* becomes a *literal Sacrifice* as often as he thinks fit to bring him on the Altar. But besides this *commemorative Sacrifice* of Christs death, we have *other* Sacrifices of *Prayers* and *Alms-deeds*; we have our Sacrifice of *Praise* and *Thanksgiving*; we are taught to present our *Bodies*, as a *Sacrifice* pure, holy and acceptable to God, and to offer up to him the burning *Oblations* of our hearts, and the *Calves* of our lips. These, I say, are *Sacrifices* of our Church; and the Place where these are offer'd according to the way of Antiquity, and the Language of *Fathers* and *Councils*, we call (†) an Altar, and He who offers 'em and officiates at the Altar we call a Priest; (r) and all this while we are farther off from Popery in this practice than others from Puritanism, or any Puritan from true Popery:

(q) *Tollantur hi & similes his abusus, &c. Casaub. ad Card. Perron. Ep.* (†) *Quid est altare nisi sedes corporis & sanguinis Christi? Optat. cont. Parm. l. 6. Altare Ecclesia est ubi quotidie consecratur Corpus Dom. Primas. ad Heb. c. 13.* (r) *Mountague. Apello Casarem.*

B. If this was the language of the *Ancients*, as you affirm, how comes it to be objected in the days of *Origen*, and *Minucius Felix*, that *Christians* had no (s) *Temples* nor *Altars*, there being no such thing, and probably no such language in those days, which caused the objection?

A. Those who talked thus were profest *Pagans*, and their design was to run down Christianity because of its *Poverty*, and the little Figure it made in the World, and thereupon demanded why we had no *Temples* or such magnificent *Structures* as were built by them, and dedicated to their false *Gods*; which, under persecution, as then, had been a ridiculous attempt in our *Fathers*, who either had not *Money* to raise such *Fabricks*, or not sufficient *Authority* to secure their standing. However there were places for the Divine Worship, tho' very short of that outward magnificence which was the matter of the Objection. They had such as suited their Condition, whether called *Temples*, *Churches* or *Oratories*, and when the times would bear it, they were not wanting in those instances of *Grandure*, and after-Ages taught the Adversary that there was little room for such an exception. (t) Or we may say, That whereas by *Temples* the *Heathens* understood such Buildings whereunto their *Gods* by the power of *Spells* or *Magical Consecrations* were confined and limited, and for the presencing of whom a *Statue* was thought necessary; Places wherein they dwelt, shut up as *Birds* in a *Cage*, or as the *Devil* restrained within a *Circle*, that so they might be ready at hand when *Men* had occasion to address 'em. *Christians* indeed had no such dwellings for their God as these, for he dwells not in *Temples* made with hands: Yet they had their Wor-

(s) *Quæ non aras habent, nullâ Templâ?*

(t) *See made in his Treatise of Churches.*

shipping-places, Houses of Prayer, and Churches, for such the Histories and Monuments of those Times expressly inform us they had; and the Gentiles themselves who objected this defect knew it too well, as may appear by their Emperors Rescripts for demolishing 'em, and sometimes for restoring 'em when the Persecutions were over. Then as for Altars, they had not indeed any either of Wood or Stone to slaughter and Sacrifice Beasts on, which made up a great part of the Jewish and Pagan Religion; yet still they had their Altars for the offering up of the Christian Sacrifices, Altars not polluted with real blood, but such as we now imploy to remember that great Sacrifice of the Lamb of God which was once effectually made for the Sins of the whole world. So that you may perceive in what sense the Objection of Celsus and Cecilius is to be taken; not to prove that Christians had no Altars, no more than to prove they had no God, because they refused to worship their Idols; and upon that reason we may observe, that at the same time as they denied 'em to have Altars, they also charged 'em with downright Atheism. (u) Yet it is very probable the first Christians were very sparing in the use of these words, [Temple, Priest and Altar,] while the notion and practice of the Aaronical Sacrifices were still fresh in their Memories, and they took great care to keep themselves at a distance from the Jews in all respects whatever; which is the reason, that almost to the times of Irenæus the term Presbyter was used instead of Priest. But the danger

(u) Dico primos Christianos propter recentem memoriam Sacerdotii Aaronici abstinuisse, non solum à vocabulo templi, sed etiam Sacerdotis, nè viderentur adhuc durare Judaicæ Ceremonia. Itaq; Apostoli in suis Epistolis pro Sacerdotibus, Episcopos & Presbyteros, pro Templo Ecclesias dicunt, Et similiter loquuntur Irenæus, Justinus, Ignatius, & ceteri antiquissimi patres——Bellarm. de cult. sanct. c. 4. Vid. Durant. de ritib. Eccl. Cath. l. 1.

and suspicion of complying with them being well over, the *Fathers* resumed the old Names, as very innocent and significant.

B. But do not our *Laws* reject *Altars*, both *thing* and *name*, by repealing a Statute made in *Popish* times to protect the use of 'em?

A. The Statute is that of Queen *Mary*,
Mar. wherein it is said, **If any shall unlawfully, contemptuously or maliciously of their own power or authority pull down, spoil or break any Altar or Altars, such Person or Persons, &c.** they were to be punished.—Queen *Mary* who made this Law, repealed another of *Edward VI.* for the Au-

Eliz. thorizing of the *Common-Prayer*; but Queen *Elizabeth*, who succeeded, to re-establish that Law of King *Edward*, repealed so much of the repeal of Queen *Mary's* as concern'd the *Liturgy*, but left that part concerning *Altars*, as before, (w) and so it may be said to continue in force to this day. However it appears, the Law was not so well understood at that time, but that according to the different sentiments of the Persons then in being, some *Altars* were removed, and others kept their standing. So that the

Queen was engaged to make an *Injunction*.
 1559. **That tho' it seem'd to her a matter of no great moment which had the preference, whether Tables, or Altars, provided the Sacrament was duly and reverently Administred, yet for Uniformity sake, She would have 'em all of one kind.** And thereupon Commanded all the *Altars* to be taken down, and *Tables* set in their stead; and

(w) *Altare Christianum*—Arch Bishop *Land's* Speech in the Star-Chamber, at the Censure of *Prymme*, *Bastwick* and *Burton*, June 16. 1637. *Rushworth*.

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these the rather to be used, because better *suiting* the notion then of the *Sacrament*, which the *Pa-pists* considered as a *real Sacrifice*, and consequently the *Place* whereon it was offered a *real Altar*; neither of which the *Reformers* allowing, it was thought adviseable to remove the *One*, that the sight of it might not countenance the *other Error*.

B. Well, for my part, I am not offended at the word, but believe it proper and conformable enough to *Antiquity* and the *Gospel*; and all the use I would make of the *Objection*, is only to persuade Men to *Charity* and *good temper*, and not make such a-do about innocent terms, when they all agree in the *sense* and *reason* of 'em.

A. I subscribe to that *Design*, and do wish all People so unaffected and moderate as not to catch at words, and thence force inferences to disturb our *Peace*, and prejudice the *Truth*. By this means among other things, the dispute of the *Sabbath* might have an end, except in such Cases where endeavours are used to introduce the *old Day* as well as the *old Name*. But when Men are fond to shew their parts in disputing us into *Popery*, because we sometimes call the *Minister Priest*, and the *Table an Altar*, it ought not to be ill taken, if we retort the *Argument*; and by putting them in mind of the word *Sabbath*, they are so much in love with (and which they so earnestly contend for) we discover to 'em what *hast* themselves are making towards *Judaism*, from the proof they manage against us, which is full as strong for *this* relapse, as it is for the *other*; and my meaning is, it concludes against *neither*.

B. But there is another word commonly used, which I am more offended with, and that is *Sunday*, because it seems to lessen the veneration we ought to have for this *Christian Festival*. And

tho' there is no danger on this account of our relapsing to *Gentilism*, (x) yet methinks we honour *their* way too much in retaining the Language, and by fixing on our great *Holiday* the *Stile* of that *Planet*, we may be thought to neglect the *Saviour of the World* to whose Service we Consecrate it, and whose *Name* certainly it ought to bear, out of a grateful remembrance of the Redemption he wrought for us. And thus far I cannot but commend the Zeal of *Philastrinus* who charges this ill custom with the odious name of *Heresie*, and looks on it a very great Error in those who used it.

A. The *Days* of the *Week* derive their names from the *Heathen-Deities*, but in these Ages we use 'em only for *distinction-sake*, without any relation to their first Original. *Superstition* indeed began and *Custom* continues 'em, but we deal with these words as with *Money*, which use makes proper and passible. (†) And truly it looks peevish and froward to refuse a piece of Coin that is currant thro' the *World*, because it is not stamp'd after our own fancy. As it was the way of the *Gentiles* to call every day of the *Week* by the names of their *Gods*, so they likewise dealt with some of the *Months*; and if we keep these without any regard to *Janus* or *Mars*, why may not *Saturday* be so called without thinking of *Saturn*; and *Sunday* without relation to the *Sun*? Yet I could wish with (y) *St. Augustine*, that Men were more careful in

(x) *Pudendum est simulq; dolendum deos gentium inter Christianos & quidem Evangelicos tam memorabile monumentum habere. Hospinian. de festis Christ.* (†) *Bishop Bramhal* against *Hobbs*, about Liberty and Necessity. (y) *Nolumus ut dicant, & utinam corrigantur ut non dicant—Melius de ore Christiano ritus loquendi Ecclesiasticus procedit. Aug. in Psalm.*

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their forms of Speech ; and that they would be prevailed on to express themselves more agreeably to the way of the Church. Yet seeing by Custom, they speak otherwise, and that it is no more than a Civil and Popular term used for a long time in most parts of the World without any Religion or Mystery in it, I my self am ready to comply with the general practice, and think them too severe, who call it *Prophane, Heathenish and unlawful*.

B. My Charge against 'em goes not so far ; yet I should be better pleas'd, if they always called the *Day* by a more reverend and its proper name.

A. I read of the *Hebrews*, (2) That when they meet with the word *Jehova*, they pass it over with a silent respect, or depute some other name of God, viz. *Adonai, Elohim*, or the like, to fill up the Text, being of opinion that it is not fit for any Person below (*) the *High-Priest*, and for him seldom to pronounce it, because it is God's more peculiar and proper Name, which no flight of Rhetorick can communicate to the Creature. I hope it proceeds out of a principle of reverence, that we do not make the *Lords-day* familiar in our mouths at all times and upon all occasions. And altho' we mostly give it its right name, whenever we or the Subject be serious, yet at such times as we are less thoughtful, or our minds imploy'd about secular Matters, perhaps a more ordinary stile may appear suitable, especially in Discourse, where there may be reason to mention the *Day*, without any regard to the Solemnity or Worship of it.

(2) Quoniam divina essentia secundum proprium ejus esse, mente nullatenus excogitari potest, &c. Vid. Pet. Galat. de Arcanis Cath. Verit. l. 2. c. 7. & 10. (*) Solis summis pontificib. quotannis permessa erat ejus pronuntiatio in diebus juniorum & propitiationis. Reuchlin. de Arte Cabbalist. l. 3.

B. I doubt the *reason* of this habit is quite contrary, and the ill Custom is kept up for want of Religion in People, whose behaviour and language too much agree, and who make as bold with the *Day* it self as they do with the *name* of it.

A. Pray God their hearts be *right*, who constantly use more sanctified Phrases. However the word *Sunday* has not that ground, but began and is retained upon better Reasons than what you mention.

B. I shall be glad to hear you speak on that Subject.

A. I say then it is not to be denied but we borrow the name of this Day from the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, and we allow that the old *Egyptians* worshipped the *Sun*, and as a standing memorial of their veneration, dedicated *this Day* to him. And we find, by the influence of their Examples, other Nations, and among them the *Jews* themselves, doing him Homage [2 King. 23. 5. Jerem. 43. 13.] yet these abuses did not hinder the *Fathers* of the Christian Church simply to repeal or altogether lay by the *Day* or its *name*, but only to sanctifie and improve *both*, as they did also the Pagan Temples polluted before with idolatrous Services and other instances wherein those good Men were always tender to work any other change than what was evidently necessary, and in such things as were plainly inconsistent with the Christian Religion; so that *Sunday* being the day on which the *Gentiles* solemnly adored *that Planet*, and called it *Sunday*, partly from its influence on *that day* especially, and partly in respect to its Divine Body (as they conceived it) the Christians thought fit to keep the *same day* and the *same name* of it, that they might not appear causelessly peevish, and by that means hinder the conversion of

of the *Gentiles*, and bring a greater prejudice than might be otherwise taken against the *Gospel*. They kept therefore the same day, and spent it in Religious Worship, tho' with very great difference both in the *manner* of Worship, and the *Objects* of it, the *one* party serving the *Creator*, the *other* the *Creature*. And this they might safely do without any regard to the *Sun*, because it was the *Day* on which the *Lord Christ* arose from the *Dead*; a *Miracle* of that virtue and of so great concern for the welfare of Christians, that it was very seemly to set apart some particular time for the commemoration of it; and certainly no better time than the *day it self* on which the thing was done, tho' falling in with *that* which the *Infidels* spent in their Superstition. And then as for the name which they promiscuously used and by common consent called it *Sunday*. This did not in the least derogate from the honour of our Festival, because the *Gentiles* observed and called it so as well as *we*. For altho' with them the *reason* of the name was (1) because on *that* day they adored the *Sun* for his more beneficial aspect at that time; yet this motive made no impression on the Christian, who indeed adored the *Sun*, but it was *that Sun*, saith *St. Augustine*, which the Scripture calls the *Sun of Righteousness*, who arose with healing in his wings [Malachi 4. 2.] and on this account it is called *Sunday*, (2) because on *this day* *Christ* was raised from death to life to inlighten the Chil-

(1) *Secundum gentes dies Dom. primus est, cum principio illius diei incipiat dominari principalis Planeta Sol, propter quod vocabant eum diem solis.* Bonaventura. (2) *ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου* — Euseb. de laud. Constant. c. 9. *Dominica dicitur quia in ea Dominus victor ascendit ad patrem. Quod si a gentilibus dies solis vocatur, & hoc nos libentissime confitemur. Hoc enim die lux mundi orta est.* — Hieron. in Psalm. Vid. Maxim. Turon. Homil. de Pen.

dren of this world, and by his *Triumphant Resurrection* cause the heavenly light of truth and grace to appear in full lustre to them, who before sate in darkness and the shadow of death. And hence it is that this word is so often found in the *ancient Writings*, to signify this great Holiday which we now Celebrate, and was always kept from the beginning of *Christianity* in honour of our Redeemer the Sun of the Prophet *Malachy*, and not the *ordinary Star* which the *Heathens* worshipped, and from whom we seem to derive the name, but is much improved beyond the reach of their Religion.

B. This is but Metaphor and Allusion.

A. True, yet an allusion so necessary, that the Prophets and other Holy Men of God considering the Majesty of Christs Person, and the excellency of his Kingdom, they had no similitude or comparison to express themselves by but the glory of this Creature, which *Plato* calls the *visible Sun of God*, and we the *Image of the invisible one*.

B. However this is only *Figurative*. But in our enumeration of the days of the Week, and the names they go by, we are understood to adhere to the letter, and the first day of the Week being called *Sunday*, we may be reasonably supposed to refer to the *natural Sun* in the name of this day, as well as to the *Moon* and the rest of the *Planets* in the other *six*, which in their order follow it.

A. In the ordinary account of time, as I said, we take this method, and use the old names as of the *Months*, so of the *Days*, without much scruple. And being we are contented to make the *Astronomers* our Masters in the division of time, we are not over-nice in accepting the terms of this division, and those words they lend us to distinguish one time from another. However this is done without the least remain of the old superstition; and as for the *particular day*, which by the consent

sent of all Parties was and is now *holy*, tho' we keep the name it before went by, that we might not shew our selves a captious quarrellsome People, yet you see we have refined the word into a nobler sense than what it originally had. And since by the allowance (we may say the Authority) of the Blessed Spirit, the *Object* of our Worship has the *same denomination* with that of the *Gentiles*, why we should not have the *same name* likewise for *the day* we do him service in, I see no reason, at least none strong enough to make us explode it.

B. This improvement of the word, I must confess, doth not a little soften it, otherwise (if not sanctified) the sound might be harsh to pious ears, as it often is to many who consider not this reason, and who, out of a godly jealousy, are fearful to admit any thing that seems to reflect on our Christian profession.

A. It is the caution of Scripture that we be not *over-wise*, because all extreams are bad. A Man may be too Religious, and that *excess*, not to give it a worse name, is called *preciseness*, which instead of making a *Saint*, often ends in *hypocrisie*. But put the case we had not this refuge, nor that we were able by the *Spiritual signification* of the word [*Sunday*] to justify this language among us, and had no mind to be beholding to the (3) *Saxon* or (4) *Danish Etymologists* to render it excusable, yet the Custom might be supported by the *natural reason* of it; and since the *Astronomers* assure us, that the *Sun begins* this day with a more peculiar influence, what *more proper name* can there be to distinguish it by than *that* of the *Planet* which presides and governs it?

(3) *Sonen* to judge, *qu.* the day of the Judge—

(4) *Sone pacare*, *qu.* *dies pacationis*—Pontanus—wherein we appease God.—

B. I thought all the *Planets* claim'd an interest in every day of the Week; and that the *Moon*, *Mars*, *Mercury* and the rest had, in their capacity, a common influence on things below.

A. It is so said by those who are most exact in this Study, but then they have their several turns and hours, which is the reason why *Astrologers* are so curious, when Questions are put 'em, to know the precise time of the Birth, &c. that so they may be the better able to satisfy their inquisitive Clients, by finding what *Planet* had the dominion of that hour relating to the Question.

B. How then doth your Reason hold concerning Sunday?

A. Tho' the Seven *Planets* govern every day, yet it is successively and in their courses, and their efficacy is appropriate chiefly to their peculiar hours; and in this constant revolution of hours, the *Planet* which happens to begin the day, whatever it be, is said to preside and intitle himself to that day, as it falls out in many other Examples, for the more excellent part to denominate the whole, (s) so that the *Sun* being the Lord of the first hour of this day, the *Moon* Mistress of the first hour of the next, and so on; this occasion'd the *Astronomers* to distinguish the parts of the Week in that manner, and the Method continues to the present Age. And this agrees with the Doctrine of the Jewish *Rabbins*, as appears by *Rabbi Gedaliah Ben Jechei* — (*) The *Planet*, saith he, which begins to Rule the first hour, whether day or night, he claims that whole day and night as the supreme

(s) *Philosophi quod Sol Regnabat prima hora diei Dom. ideo illum diem denominarunt à sole. Et quod Luna regnabat prima hora secundæ feriæ ideo diem illum denominarunt à Luna, & sic de cæteris.*—Durand Rational.

(*) *In Sepher Shalsheth*—

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Lord of it, yet the other Planets which in their order have charge of the following hours, are as it were the Ministers and Assistants of that Superiour Planet, and with him rule the day, tho' being Lord of the first hour he takes place, and the day is called by his Name. So that tho' the rest have an interest in each day or night, yet they act in a subordinate way, and as so many Ministers to him—As for instance in Saturday, Saturn is Lord of this Day, and possesses the whole Day. But tho' as Lord he influences and governs the first hour, yet he leaves the second to Jupiter. And we say tho' Saturn be Lord of the second hour as well as the first hour, yet Jupiter is his assistant, whose Ministry he uses in it.

B. And is it certain that this revolution of hours gives every Planet its particular day by those names and in that order we have 'em?

A. So it is affirmed, especially if we follow Ptolemy's System, where the Planets are set in this Order. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. And therefore according to this Scheme, we will begin with Saturn, and the rather, not only because the Ancients had a great veneration for him in remembrance of the golden Age, when he is said to Reign, but because he is the reputed God of Time, and on that account Time ought to begin with him. The first hour then of the day (called by his Name) is allotted to him, the 2d to Jupiter, the 3d to Mars, the 4th to the Sun, the 5th to Venus, the 6th to Mercury, the 7th to the Moon, the 8th to Saturn again, and so forwards as before to the 24th hour, which concludes the natural day, and is assign'd to Mars. Thence begins the first hour of the next day, and the Planet next in order to Mars being the Sun, he is said to govern that hour, and is president of the following day, which therefore goes by his Name.

Name. This method if we take in all the rest, we shall find every 25th hour, or the 1st hour of every *natural day* to have a *new Planet* to rule and name it, in that manner as we commonly take it—'Tis true, this dominion of the Planets to intitle to themselves the days of the Week doth not please either (6) *Scaliger* or *Selden* for this reason, because this naming of the *days* is of longer standing than the division of the *day* by *hours*, and therefore 'tis thought more likely that these names were not given the days of the Week on the account of the *Planetary hours*, or because *such* or *such hours* are influenced by *this* or *that Planet*, but on the contrary, this Superstition is derived rather from the *days*, which being called after the *names* of the *Planets*, they afterwards fixed these *names* on the *hours* likewise. And Mr. *Selden* conceives that these names of the days, and the order they are in, proceeded from the dignity and preeminence which the *Sun* and *Moon* have among the Stars. For the *Indians* and *Persians* call the *first* the *King*, and the *other* the *Queen*; and the *Egyptians* compared the *Sun* to the *right Eye*, and the *Moon* to the *left*, and the other 5 *Planets* were considered as the ῥαβδφόροι or *Officers* to those who were deem'd the *Sovereigns* of Heaven, as indeed *Ptolemy* himself calls 'em; for, saith he, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη διατάκται ὥσπερ ἡγέμονες εἰς τῶν ἄλλων—the *Sun* and *Moon* are as it were the *Governours* and *Princes* of the rest. And hereupon probably *Anaximander*, *Metrodorus* and *Crates* placed the *Sun* in the *first Orb*, and next to him the *Moon*, and so from their superiority and excellency they are made to lead the Van in giving names to the days of the Week---and the *Style*

(6) *Scaliger. Prolog. ad Emendat. Temp.*

of ἡβδομημένης is supposed to be given to *Apollo*, because he is *hebdomada dux*, the president of the *Week*, which Mr. *Selden* thinks to be the meaning of the word in *Æschylus* and *Proclus*, those Authors having an eye not to his *Birth*, but the *dominion* and the *prerogative* he has in the *septenary* account of time. I dispute not this matter with him, but shall only observe that himself owns the notion we propose to be the Tenet of *Vettius Valens* an ancient Astronomer of *Antioch*, and from *Dio* reports it as the opinion of former Ages, and withal confesses that it is much approved by those Learned Moderns who treat of these Affairs; such as *Nicolaus Cardinalis Cusanus*, *Johannes Garcaus*, *Franciscus Maurolycus*, *Johannes Lucidus*, *Christoph. Clavius*, *Johannes Kepler*, and others, which I take to be Authority enough to excuse, if not justify, a thing of this kind. *Selden de jure Nat.* l. 3. c. 31. Then as to *Scaliger*, tho' we are not so credulous as to believe with some People that the names of the *Week* bear date with the *Creation*, yet plainly the Custom is very ancient, as appears from *St. Augustine*, who on the title of *Psalms* 93, delivers himself thus---*Psalms ipse David. in quarta Sabbati*---this fourth of the Sabbath, saith he, is the fourth day of the Week, which by the Pagans and many Christians is called *Mercurii dies*---*St. Jerom* testifies the same thing, Every Week is called a Sabbath, and is distinguish'd into the 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. of the Sabbath, which the Heathens call after the names of their Idols. But before them *Clement of Alexandria* speaking of *Wednesday* and *Friday*, saith, ἡ μὲν Ἑρμῆς, ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἡμερῆσιζονται, the one is the day of *Mercury*, the other of *Venus*, *Stro.* l. 7. And both *Tertullian* and *Justin Martyr* in their respective Apologies expressly name *Saturday*, and *Sunday*. It is reported of *Apollonius Tyaneus* that *Jarcha* presented him

him with seven Rings after the names of the *seven Planets*, which he wore one after another according to the *names* of the *days*. But before his time *Oracles* ceased; yet in an old one of *Apollo* we read these Verses.

Κληίζειν Ἑρμῆν ἥδ' Ἡέλιον καὶ τὰ ὅλα
 Euseb. de Præp. Ἡμέρη Ἡελίῳ, Μήνην τῷδε τῆς δε παρῆν
 Evang. L. 5. Ἡμέρη, ἥδε Κρόνον ἥδ' ἐξέως Ἀφροδίτην—

Invoke Mercury and the Sun on Sunday, and the Moon when her day comes, and after the same manner Saturn and Venus. But they still go higher, this invention being fathered on the Schools of *Zoroastres* and *Hystaspes* among the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*---“Οἱ μὲν περὶ Ζωροάστρη καὶ Ὑστάσπην χαλδαῖοι καὶ Ἀγύπτιοι ἀπ' ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πλανήτων ἐν ἐβδομάδι τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβον—*vid. Rivet. de Orig. Sab.* From all which it appears, saith *Scaliger*, that the calling of the *days* by the names of the *Planets* is very ancient among the *Greeks*, and this Evidence confutes those who say that the usage (concerning *Sunday*, *Monday*, &c.) hath no footsteps in the Writings of *Old Authors*. But then it must be remembered that these Names were taken up by the *Astronomers* and their Disciples, and not admitted by either the *Civil* or *Religious* Government of the *Greeks* or *Romans*. And suppose that *Zoroastres* or his Scholars either began or advanced this Custom, yet if it be true that *Jupiter* and the rest of 'em were not accounted or worshipped as Gods 'till the reigns of *Cecrops* or *Theseus*, as *Pausanias* and *Athanasius* assert, then Religion at first had nothing to do with these Names which *Astronomers* invented to distinguish the *Stars* and their Influences; and then why might not the *hours* be introduced in the same way, and have the same reason to be intituled to these Names? When indeed

deed this division of *hours* began, may be, for ought I know, as hard to determine, as it is to resolve how and when the days came to be called by the Planets. 'Tis plain *Homer* and *Hesiod* speak of 'em; the Scripture tells us of the *Dial* of *Ahaz*, and *Anaximenes* was a famous *Dialist* at *Lacedæmon*; and by this means was discovered every day the ascent and declension of the *Sun*, and the shadow the *Gnomon* cast on the Plate or Stone, let 'em see how many degrees he pass, and thence they found a way to judge of time by *hours*. The first mention of an *hour* in Scripture by that term is in the Prophet, *Daniel* 3. 6. but whether it is meant in the vulgar acceptation for the 24th part of the natural day is a little uncertain, seeing the word is used more largely for a *Season*, and *day* as well as an *hour* strictly so called; and we cannot but own that the *Greeks* and *Romans* heretofore contracted the number, or say rather had not subdivided their *hours* into so many as we use this day. Yet without contradiction, before Christs time this Custom was well known, as we find *Jo.* xi. 9. *are there not twelve hours in the day?* by which he means the *Civil day*, when the *Sun* by his presence giveth light to the World. So that this *division by hours* has its gray hairs as well as the days of the Week; and seeing both are owing to the *Astronomers*, it is not absurd to think, but that the date may be near the same for the names of the days and hours; and we may suppose the *Planets* may influence both alike, and with equal exactness. I do not mean that we are not subject to the power of the *Heavenly Bodies*, daily experience abundantly confirms it, but it may be every *Planet* has its particular presidentship as truly over every *hour* of the day and night, as over the *day* and *night* themselves in the progress of the Week, if we limit 'em precisely to their
Order

Order and Courses. However, be this Doctrine true or false, we may use the *Hypothesis* as a piece of Art, and since we discover whence we have and how we are to understand it, what need is there to be offended if it be a mistake, seeing we lay no more stress upon't, than on other *artificial* instances we embrace to make the things we are imploy'd about, the more intelligible and easie.

B. The account you have given concerning the antiquity of the names on the days of the Week (which I consent to) contradicts what some affirm, That namely we owe it to the *Egyptian Ptolemy* who liv'd near a *Century* and half after *Christ's Nativity*, and yet others date it lower, and bring it down to the times of *Dionysius Exiguus* or thereabouts, which I wonder at in a Case so plain as this is, and where the Evidence is so strong against 'em.

A. I find you mistook me, the *names* of the *days*, and the reducing the *days* to that *form* and *number* as constitute a *Week*, are different things. For shou'd it be true that the names were full as old as *Zoroastres*, yet it follows not but the *Week* may have its *birth* after *Ptolemy* or *Dionysius*; and you may remember I said before, that the usage was *Astrological* and not *Civil*, known and conniv'd at, but never instituted by the *Greeks* or *Romans* while they continued *Pagan*, as Mr. *Selden* himself owns, and declares that the dividing of time by Weeks doth not appear to be receiv'd till their Conversion to Christianity, *de Jure Nat.* l. 3. c. 19. And this interprets *Iosephus*, who confidently gave out τὸ ἑβδομάδος τῆς ἐβδομάδος, that this *Septenary Account* was Celebrated throughout the whole World—True, but with this limitation---παρὰ τοῖς δοκιμοτάτοις Ἑλλήνων καὶ Βαρβάρων οἱ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἐπιστήμην διαπονέοντες—it was among such both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* who were well skilled in the *Mathe-*
maticks,

maticks, faith *Philo de Mundo*. We read indeed, that at the long run this Science so far prevailed, and the *Astrolōgers* gain'd so much credit among the Vulgar, as to be reputed the *Priests* and *Secretaries of the Gods*; yet this was only by way of Science, not by publick Appointment: However it became matter of complaint to *Sextus Empiricus*, that they brought great mischief to the World, and advanced Superstition among the Credulous, Adv. Mathem. l. 5. And an instance we have of this Opinion currant then among some of the *Gentiles*, who believed they had their Soul from the Sun, their Body from the Moon, the Blood from Mars, Wit from Mercury, good Temper from Jupiter, from Venus Pleasantness, Dulness from Saturn: A Notion which encouraged *Friar Bacon* to say, That Christians erred much in not resting on Saturday after the manner of the *Jews*, because it was a Day least of all proper for the dispatch of Business. But still no Church or State settled this Account till the period before mention'd. For as to *Cæsar's Kalendar*, the terms of Art therein used are too barbarous for the Age of *Julius* or *Augustus*, as *Petavius* argues—I make no doubt of it, faith he, but the Kalendar going by *Cæsar's Name* is very short of the date pretended; for it appears modern with respect to them, and was made by some Christian—de doct. temp. l. 6. and *Scaliger* faith the same—de Emend. temp. l. 4. So that tho' the *Greeks* and *Romans* were well acquainted with the Planets and their motions, yet they might not divide their Kalendar into Weeks (which is what is asserted) as now they do, 'till about the times of *Dionysius Exiguus*, nor in all probability had they then receiv'd it, but that then Christianity was admitted throughout the Empire, and therewith the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, where the account by Weeks was exceeding obvious. And 'till then

D

they

they reckon'd the Month by *Kalends*, *Nones* and *Ides*, and the other Days reducible to these Names.

B. I know this was their more familiar Custom; yet it appears from *Cicero* that the *Latins* sometimes used another way. For in one of his Letters to *Tiro* his Freeman, we have the (6) 4th *Week* expressly, and this near 200 years before *Ptolemy* was Born, who was yet much older than *Dionysius*.

A. The word *hebdomas* or *hebdomada* translated *Week*, in strict propriety signifies no more than the *seventh* or *seventh day*; tho' by custom of Speech now, we deal with the term, as the *Jews* heretofore by their *Sabbatum*, which was in reality the *Name* of their *principal Day* only, but to give it honour, they made it include the *whole Week*, and all the *seven Days* were called the *Sabbath*. And in this sense, as a word meaning such a number, we take the expression of that Orator, who by his *quarta hebdomada*, which you English the *fourth Week*, intends nothing else besides the *fourth seventh Day*; and that is the periphrasis of the 28th, which he cautions *Tiro* to be sure to remember. The truth is, if we consider well the Letter, we shall find the word directed to the Condition that Man was in. That he had been *very ill* for a great while, is evident from the next (7) Epistle; and therefore his Master wishes him to consider his Case, and beware of the *seventh Day*, which the *Physicians* call *κρίσιμον ἡμέραν*, a *Critical Day*, when *Nature* and the *Disease* being in their greatest contest, they can better judge how it will go with the Patient, by observing

(6) *Ne in quartam hebdomadam incideres*—Ep. 9. lib. 16—

(7) *Gravissime aegrotasti*—Ep. 10.

which of the two at that time gets the upper hand. The 14th, the 21st and the 28th were noted after the same manner, and this last being favourable to the sick Party, 'tis thereupon hoped that the danger is over. So that *Tully's* Advice was this, That *Tiro* should have a care how he did eat, drink, or do any thing which might add strength to his distemper, and expose himself to a new conflict with it on the 28th Day, wherein, if *Nature* had the Victory, he might do well, if not, it would retard if not altogether hinder his recovery. Whereby you see, the Orator had no regard to any *Weekly* supputation of time, but only the *Critical Days* among the (8) *Physicians* which they divided into *Sevenths*, to be better able to provide for the Cure. And to inforce the likelihood of this his meaning, we find he never uses the word elsewhere, as I know of, in all his Works. And in this very Epistle giving us an *Ephemeris* or *Diary* of his Voyage, he doth it in the old Roman Stile by the *Kalends* and *Ides* without our notion of *Weeks*, or so much as mentioning one *Planetary Name* in it.

B. 'Tis not improbable but this *hebdomada quarta* may be such as you have explained it. However methinks, the *natural Reason* for the Names of the *Planets* to be given the Days of the *Week* (which you have taken notice of) I mean their *influences*, and the impressions they make on the inferiour Creatures, should prove this way of Calculation to be exceeding *ancient*. And as soon as the *Astrolo-*

(8) *Galenus docet febres ardentissimas primo die solvi. Si non primo, secundo, i. e. decimo quarto. Si non secundo, tertio. i. e. vigesimo primo, ut omnes labores & molestia septenarii numero conquiescant—Hieronym. —Vid. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 3. c. 10. Et Pezelium in Melancthon. de efficacia Stellarum.*

gers, whether *Egyptian*, *Chaldean* or others, discovered the power and efficacy of these *Heavenly Bodies*, they might be well thought to appropriate to each *Planet* its particular *Day*. And because all time depends on the revolution of these *Heavenly Bodies*, they might divide it into so many *periods*, and use the Number *seven* to form the *Weeks* as we now have 'em. *Quia ordo Planetarum ultra numerum Septenarium non procedit, sed ad primum revertitur, ideo tantum septem dies in septimana sunt à sapientibus constituti*——Durand. Ratio.

A. Some indeed, have been persuaded, that the days of the *Week* had these Names of the *Planets* (9) by God's own appointment ever since the beginning of the World. An Error defended by the Authority of *Hermes*, a Man of great Reputation among the old *Egyptians*. But that reflection of (10) *St. Augustine* is a sufficient confutation of any such Doctrine. That namely, tho' the *Stars* themselves had certainly a Being from the very Creation, yet the *Persons* whose Names they bear, were not known, nor indeed born 'till many Ages after. Such as *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, &c. (11) who being *Princes* or otherwise *Great Men*, who had deserved well of the World, they were thro' the flattery of some, and credulity of others advanced to Heaven, and said to be turn'd into *this* or *that Star*, existent long before, but unobserv'd by the *Vulgar*, who were taught to believe and receive them as their

(9) *Nomina dierum Solis, Lunæ, Martis, &c.—à Deo ita posita ab origine mundi, non hominum vana præsumptione nuncupata, ut refert Philastrius.*

(10) *Aug. in Ps. 93*——

(11) *Perseus Zenonis auditor eos dicti habitos deos à quibus magna utilitas ad vitæ cultum esset inventa. Cic. l. 1. de nat. Deorum. vid. Lactant. de falsa Relig. N. 10, 11.—vid. pag. 34. 63. 76. 80. 84. Edit. Spark.*

admired *Heroes*. However all this was Modern in comparison of the time supported by that opinion; and tho' each of these *Stars* so named, had its Profelytes, and in all likelihood special Days assign'd and consecrated to 'em, yet as for the reducing them to that *Order* they are at present in, and bringing them all within the compass of a *Week*, it doth not appear by any credible Author that this was done 'till *Ptolemy* went about it; and the Account was so slowly carried on, and admitted with so much indifferency, that St. *Augustine* affirms of his Age (12) two hundred years after *Ptolemy*, that many Nations retained other measures, and had different Names to distinguish their Days by.

B. This is made good in our own Case. For what relation have our *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, *Thursday* and *Friday* to the Planets, or to *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Jupiter* and *Venus*, from whom in Latin they take their Names?

A. We have these Names from our (13) *Ancestors* the Saxons, who in memory of their Founders *Woden* and *Thor* his Son, allotted them these two Days *Wednesday* and *Thursday*, and did 'em divine honours.

B. It may be so, yet your last words seem to contradict the words of (14) *Cæsar*, who affirms that *Germany* (of which *Saxony* is a considerable

(12) *Multæ gentes aliæ atque aliæ aliter vocant.* loc. cit.

(13) *Rex [Vortigernus] ab iis [Horsø & Hengisto] quasi vit, quam fidem, quam religionem patres eorum coluissent. Cui Hengistus: Deos Patrios, viz. Saturnum, Jovem atque cæteros, qui mundum gubernant, colimus; maxime autem Mercurium quem lingua nostra Woden appellamus. Huic patres nostri veteres dedicaverunt quartam feriam Septimanæ quæ in hunc hodiernum diem Wodens-day appellatur.*

(14) *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos vident, Solem, Vulcanum & Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt—De Bello Gall. l. 6.*

Branch) acknowledged no other Gods besides those whose influence was serviceable to 'em, as *Sun, Moon, and Fire*; but for *other gods*, they had not so much as the *Names* of 'em.

A. Caesar, as I take it, meant that the *Germans* then had no more gods in common with the *Romans* besides the *Sun*—tho' they might abound with others peculiar to their own Country. Yet it appears afterwards in the days of (15) *Tacitus* that *Mars* and *Mercury* were added; not I think to increase their number, but to signify their conformity to the Victorious *Romans*, whose way of Worship they followed in a great measure, and by an obsequious analogy ascribed the virtues and operations of the *Latin Deities* to their own, and frequently called 'em as we do now. So that 'tis no great surprize if we sometimes find 'em Saluting *Woden* with the Name of *Mercury*, and *Thor* with *Jupiter's*, and the like, as *Paulus Diaconus* and *Pontanus* tell us. As for *Friday* they deduce it from *Friga* the Wife of *Woden*, which comes from a *Saxon* Word made to signify *Love*, that so there might be the better resemblance between her and *Venus* the Goddess of Love with the *Romans*, to whose Patronage the *fifth* Day of the *Week* was assigned under both these Names. The reason of *Tuesday* is much more uncertain. For some take it from *Tuisco* the Son (the Grandson say others) of *Noah*, supposed to be the Head and Leader of a distinct Colony after the confusion of Tongues at *Babel*; who taking his way *North-West*, Peopled all that tract of Land called afterwards by the *Romans* *Germany*, from the word *Germanus*; meaning that the People of this

(15) *Deorum maxime Mercurium collunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent Herculem, & Martem concessis animalibus placant. Tacitus de morib. Germ.*

Country were in Manners and Customs Brethren to the *Gauls*.

B. The Story of this *Tuisco*, is, in the opinion of many, very Fabulous; and I think *Aventinus* has reason enough to call him a *Gyant*, because the account given of him exceeds belief, and appears monstrous in divers respects.

A. That there was such a Man, Named *Tuisco*, or something in sound like it, whom the *Germans* had in special veneration and adored as a God, *Cesar* and (16) *Tacitus* both witness, and we cannot deny it. But that he was so nearly related to *Noah*, and that he came into *Germany* one hundred thirty one Years after the Flood, when the confusion of Languages (if *St. Jerom*, *Tostatus*, *Lyrannus* and the *Hebrews* may be credited) did not fall out 'till 200 Years after: And moreover that in 25 Years he should not only People that vast Country, but withal settle divers Kingdoms and Principalities, is so impossible, that we cannot assent to any Historian who reports these particularities. However, since we find by good Authority that there was a *Tuisto* or *Tuisco* who was Worshipped by the *Germans* as the Father of that vast Country, a Famous Warriour, (and thereupon probably called a *Gyant* from his great Strength and Spirit, bearing in this respect the Image of *Mars* the reputed God of Battles among the *Latins*,) they might think fit to dedicate a Day to him, the very same set apart for *Mars* whom they likened him to; and so in their Language,

(16) *Opinantur viri docti à Tuistonis seu Teutacis (quorum alterum habetur apud Lucanum pro deo Barbarorum qui septentrionales regiones incolere, Pharsal. 1. Alterum apud Tacitum pro Gentis German. conditore, de morib. Germ.) Namine diei prænomen in linguas illas cognatas pariter defluxisse. Selden de Jure Nat. l. 3. c. 22—*

by the help of a *Syncope*, stiled it *Tuesday*, a Name we still retain in compliance with 'em; yet this account displeases others, who rather referr the Day to *Tentates*, one very much celebrated among the *Gauls* and *Britains* before the *Saxons* invaded this Nation, as the *Inventer of Letters*, and was looked upon to be the *Patron of Business* and *Journeys*.

B. This description of him better suits *Mercury*, and little intitles him to *Tuesday* or *Mars's*-Day, who has in Writers another complexion and character.

A. True; and accordingly *Livy* makes it the *Sirname* of *Mercury*, and calls him *Mercurius Tentates*. And being by Office the *Messenger* and *Interpreter of the Gods*, from the excellent Skill he had in Arts and Languages; therefore from him comes *Tuisten* to *Interperet*, and *Tuisto* an *Interpreter*, a word they afterwards used to call him by, instead of *Tuet*, and *Tentates*; and gave him *Tuesday*, that he might be remembred with Honour.

B. But then, as I was saying, this has no resemblance to *Mars*, who is *President* of *Tuesday*.

A. I confess it, and indeed the Characters of these two Persons seem to be transposed. That of *Woden* which signifies *Furious* better becoming *Mars*, and *Tuet*, *Mercury*. Yet not to offend the *Romans*, whom being once acquainted with, they industriously flatter'd in the instances of Worship, they closed with 'em in the main; and as they admitted *their Gods* under *German Names*, so they did the *Days* too, tho' not with that preciseness and order as was observed at *Rome*. Yet some not satisfied with this reason of the word, give it another Original, and draw it from *Thysa* the Wife of *Thor*, who was thought as fit to have her

her place among the *Goddesses* as *Friga* the Wife of *Woden*, and therefore created her the *Patronefs* of *Justice*.

B. I take all this to be meer conjecture; and therefore would it not be much safer to use such Names for our Days, as we can support by better Authority, and not honour after this sort a parcel of *Non-Entities*, to be sure Men or Things far short of this Credit we now give 'em.

A. Be it so, yet where is the harm? There can be no greater absurdity in this practice, than entertaining the Names of those imaginary Creatures in the *Zodiac*, which 'twould be very ridiculous to think were ever translated thither. All these are *Terms of Art*, invented by the Learned to a good purpose, tho' abused by Credulity and Ignorance. And seeing we explode the *Superstitious* part, and regard no more than the *Natural use* of 'em, as a convenient means to give the Sense of things, and communicate our Conceptions to one another, I see no danger to retain still a radicated Custom; and so little do I love unnecessary Novelties, that I should not be the first to make an alteration.

B. Methinks the word *Feria* would do better, as *Constantine* required, to distinguish us by that means from *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

A. It was the way of the Church to Count the Days of the Week after that manner, as appears from * *St. Augustine* in the same place, where he dislikes the other Language, and wishes Men would speak in the Ecclesiastical way; for there he uses that Form you mention, and it is observed by those of the *Roman Communion* to this day, which might be reason enough for some among us

* *Præfat ad Psalm. 93.*

to except against it. However, it ought to be remembred without any reflection on them or the Fathers, that even this word is (a) *Heathenish* as well as others, and is derived from slaughtering the Sacrifices they on those Days made their fictitious Gods; which referring to the bloody Worship then in use, we ought to forget it as well as the Objects; and if we are not to retain any *Name*, to put us in mind of those *vain Deities*; so neither are we to be fond of such words as will keep in memory the *abominable Service* ordinarily done 'em in those Days.

B. Suppose then we follow the Example of *Moses*, who reckons the Week by the 1st, 2^d, 3^d Day, &c. as they say the *Arabians* do, and is lately put in practice by some among us. (b) Some think this the way God himself appointed; and to this sense is expounded that *Remember* in the 4th Commandment, (c) which R. *Isaac* and *Abarbinel* make a reflection on that Custom taken up among the Nations of calling the Week by the Names of the *Planets*; and therefore, as I am told, is laid aside by the *Polanders*, *Bohemians* and *Hungarians*.

A. I have no exception against what *Moses* began, and is continued by *other People*, provided no principle of pride or opposition to an innocent Custom invites 'em to it. I only observe from Scripture, that not the *Days* alone, but the *Months* of the Year went originally in that Numerical Order; yet in progress of time all the Months had Names given 'em, and we read of *Nisan*, *Abib*, and *Adar*, without any offence to the blef-

(a) *A ferendis victimis.* (b) *Dierum numerus, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. à deo primo appellatus fuit.* Philastrius de *Heresib.* (c) *In Pirash Tora: Non numerabis more quo numerare solent alij, sed numerabis per nomen Sabbati.*

fed Spirit who allow'd this Account, tho' he was pleased to Prescribe another. If then we use artificial Words to compose our *Week*, as well as *Year*, why should we trouble our thoughts about it, much less from hence take occasion to quarrel and despise each other?

B. I would not have Disputes about *words* so far ingage the Passions of Men: Yet if I could prevail, whatever liberty they thought fit to take as to the ordinary Days of the Week which God allows for Civil Affairs and the common business of Life (and therefore no great harm if they use Names suitable to those designs) yet I would have 'em treat the *Lords-Day* with more reserve, always consider whose Day it is, and thereupon give it its *peculiar and proper Name*.

A. I wish it as well as you, but would be glad withall to see so much Honour and Reverence given in other respects to *this Day*, as might persuade the World we took it for what it is. And that there is no Name more fitting than what you propose, I easily allow; however, that this is truly its *necessary Name*, a Name so essential and proper, that we offer it violence if we do not always call it so, and seem to unsanctifie it if we give it any *other*, I must needs say, I do not admit it with that exactness, nor do I look on the Proof so strong for it, but it leaves me after all a little uncertain.

B. Is not this the Language of Antiquity? Is it not thus named by the *Doctors* of the Church, by *Councils*, by *Laws* and *Edicts*, in *History*, and all manner of *Writings*.

A. The Custom is not of that extent as you take it. For our own ancient *Parliaments* till the Reign of King *Charles I.* and those States-Men and Prelates who were concerned in making our *Statutes*, and compiling our *Liturgy* did frequently decline

decline this appellation, and called it *Sunday* after the way of some Fathers both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church; yet I deny not but it is so read, as you say, in the *Canons* of the Apostles, in *Clements Constitutions*, and in his *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, cited by *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* in (1) *Eusebius*, as also in (2) *Ignatius's* *Epistles*, who being Scholar to *St. John*, may be judged able to inform us what his Master meant by the *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ*, whereon he was in the Spirit. (3) Probably he intended *Sunday*; but how doth this Text infallibly prove it? since the very emphasis which some lay so great a stress on in the Article [τῇ] speaks louder for the *Anniversary* of Christs Resurrection at *Easter*, which is always a *double Festival*, than it doth for *Sunday*, when indeed we *Weekly* commemorate that great act of our Redeemer, but do it at *Easter* in a more solemn manner, and much more agreeable to the excellency of the Particle. There are (4) those who apply it to the day of the *Nativity*, *Ascension* and *Pentecost*, as days not inferiour to the *Resurrection* in mystery, value and benefit to *Man*. But (5) many assert the *ἡμέρα κυρίου* and *ἡμέρα κρίσεως*, to mean the same Day, and that is the *Day of Judgment*, (6) which *St. Paul* calls the *Lords-Day*, and which *St. John* in an extasie is supposed to see as already come.

B. But *Ignatius*, as you said, has the same Name, and questionless he took it either from the authority of *John* in this place (and may be presumed to take it in his sense) or he refers to the insti-

(1) *Eccles. Hist.* l. 4. c. 23. (2) *Ep. ad Magnes. ad Philip.* (3) *Ubi dies resurrectionis intelligi certum est, licet quidam in dubium revocent an is qui singulis annis, an vero qui singulis hebdomadibus recurrit.* *Curcellæus de Relig. Christ. Instit.* l. 7. c. 16. (4) *Dr. Potter Epist. Dedic.* about the Sabbath. (5) *Gomarus de Sabbato.* (6) *1 Cor.* 5. 5.

tution of *Christ*, or the practice of the *Apostles* whom he had sufficient opportunity to be conversant with, and to discourse about matters of Religion, to which he was so much and so zealously devoted, that at last he died a Martyr, to Seal it with his blood.

A. Had there been any such *Institution* of our *Lord*, or that the *Apostles* made it a custom to call *this Day* by that Name, I wonder to find *St. Paul* passing it by, who every where in his Writings styles it *the first Day of the Week* whenever he had occasion to speak of the day as a day of meeting and divine Worship. It is not to be conceived that this Zealous Man who always consulted his Masters honour, should be profoundly silent in a thing which so much concern'd him; and that he who writ so many Epistles to the *Gentiles*, and treated of so many points respecting Christianity, should never once mention the *Lords-Day* in all those places, wherein tho' he takes notice of the Day, yet he sets it down under another Name, and doth it when there was no shadow of Reason for conforming himself to that Language, because his Letters were directed to the *Greek, Roman* and *Asiatic* Converts, to whom the *Lords-Day* had been more proper and welcome than the *first Day of the Week*, which was too *judaizing* in a Person who after his Conversion appear'd so great a stickler against *Judaism*. Thus in one of his Epistles, he gives these directions to them at *Corinth*, (7) *On the first Day of the Week let every one of you lay by in store as God hath prosper'd him.* This was writ to a Church remote enough from the *Jews*, and as is supposed about the Year 57. yet no hint of the *Lords-Day* but under the old Name. And in the *Itinerary* of the *Apostles* which *St. Luke* penned

(7) 1 Cor. 16. 2.

some Years after, the same form of words is used as it was commonly known to the Churches. (8) *And upon the first Day of the Week when the Disciples came together to break bread, Paul preach'd unto 'em.* The Apostle was at Troas an whole Week as we find by the context. *We came to Troas in five days, where he abode seven days,* one only of which was solemnly kept, and it is called the *first Day of the Week*; so that either the *Lords Day* was not observed at all within this time, or not being known by that Name, it was observed in the periphrasis of the *first Day of the Week*. 'Tis true, the *Syriac* Translation instead of the *first Day*, saith, (9) *on every Lords-Day*; and where the Apostle speaks thus, [(10) *when you come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lords Body*] that version alters, or rather adds to it, *you do not eat the Lords Body as becomes the Lords Day.* And *Beza* tells us, that he found in an ancient Greek Copy, after the *first Day of the Week* these words, (11) *the Lords-Day*, as exegetical, and by way of explanation. I might perhaps subjoin more Authorities of this kind, but after all they amount but to an high probability, grounded on Tradition, and them who call it an *usage* from the Apostles times, tho' we discover no Apostle using the word, but barely *St. John*, and he but once in the place cited.

B. I hope you are not of *Marcion's* mind and the *Alogi*, to question this Book, because you seem to lay little stress on the Testimony of *John* recorded in it.

A. *Marcion* and the *Alogi* were pernicious Hereticks who denied the *Eternal word*; and among

(8) Acts 20. 7. (9) *Quaque Dominicâ.* 1 Cor. 16. 2.

(10) Chap. 11. 20. *Non ut decet diem domini nostri.*

(11) Τὴν Κυριακὴν.

many other Errors, this of rejecting the *Apocalypse* was one. However they are not all *Hereticks* who are of this Opinion; for not only Men of great Figure in these later Ages, such as *Erasmus*, *Luther* and *Calvin*, had little esteem for this Book, but among the Ancients, (12) *St. Jerom* saith, that some Churches of the *Greeks* would not accept it. *Gregory Nazianzen* has omitted it in his Poem about Authentick Scripture. The (13) Council of *Laodicea*, held about 364, giving a list of Canonical Books hath left it out. (14) *Amphilochus* co-temporary with *St. Basil*, saith, that tho' some inserted it in the legitimate Writings, yet the majority did slight it as a spurious piece. (15) *Caius* an old Orthodox Author in *Eusebius* fixes it on *Cerinthus*, the notorious Millennary whom he believes the penner of it, and who to give the Book greater Authority, had it called by *St. John's* Name. *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre*, and a Martyr, owns that *St. John* writ his Gospel at *Patmos*, but not a word of this Book, tho' the first Chapter lets us know that he was in that Isle when he had his Visions. (16) *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* conceives it written by another holy Man whose Name was *John*, not the Apostle, but a *Presbyter* so called, and for distinction sake surnamed the *Divine*, (17) as in the inscription of the Greek Copies: and the *Aethiopic* Translation makes him Bishop of *Constantinople* when he suffered persecution. (18) And *Beza* who takes great pains to vindicate the Book, and solve the Arguments against it, cannot well tell, whether this (19) *John* might not be *St. Mark*, whose Name was also *John*, be-

(12) Ep. 129. ad Dardanum. (13) Can. 59. (14) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 28. (15) Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 25.
 (16) Loc. jam citat. (17) Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννη τοῦ Θεολόγου.
 (18) Prelogom. in Apoc. (19) Acts 12. 25, 15. 37.

cause the words and forms of Speech in this Revelation agree very much with those in his Gospel. Notwithstanding all which, I do not in the least hesitate about the honour of this Sacred Work, but take it for Canonical and Authentick, partly in conformity to our own Church which affords it the same veneration as the other portions of Scripture, and partly because therein she follows the greatest Authorities of the Churches before her. In the Council of *Ancyra* convened before that of *Nice*, Can. 24. In the 3^d Council of *Carthage*, Can. 47. and 4th of *Toledo*, Can. 16. we have it expressely, as appears from these Words of the Canon. **As for the Apocalypse, The Authority of divers Councils, and the Synodical Decrees of many Holy Prelates have declared it the Work of St. John the Evangelist, and therefore to be ranked with the rest of the Sacred Volume. And because there are some who doubt its Authority, and thereupon forbear the use of it in the Church of God, We do Resolve, that if such People continue in their obstinacy, and notwithstanding what We say, refuse to admit it, let 'em be Excommunicated.** thus the Canon, which as it is an Ecclesiastical Law in it self, so it contains an antecedent Declaration of what many *Councils* and *Bishops* had done in behalf of this Book. And tho' it was rejected by several Persons at the very time when this Council sate, yet we find 'em punish'd with the severest censures of the Church, and they were to be Excommunicated for their Error, if they persisted in it. So again we have it recommended by *Innocent I.* in an Epistle to *Exuperius* Bishop of *Tholouse*, wherein however he takes care to caution him against many Tracts, which then went abroad under the venerable Names of
St. Matthew,

St. *Matthew*, St. *James*, St. *Peter*, St. *John*, St. *Thomas*, and St. *Andrew*, but had for their Authors the Philosophers *Leutius*, *Nexocharides*, *Leonidas*, &c. The same honourable regard (20) St. *Augustine* and *Isidore* had for it, with divers others who had occasion to set down the Canon of Scripture. And that it is of equal credit with the other Divine Treatises, appears from the citations of *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Irenaeus*, *Cyprian*, *Ambrose* and *Justin Martyr*. And *Epiphanius* espoused its interest with so much warmth, that he stigmatized them with the opprobrious Name of Hereticks who had the confidence to refuse it. The *Syriac* Translation calls him *John the Evangelist*, banished to *Patmos* by *Nero*. The *Arabick*, *John the Apostle and Evangelist*. And tho' in the Greek Copies he is still represented by *John the Divine*, yet they all mean this holy Man who was called the *Theologue*, because he treated of the Eternal Word, or God the 2d Person of the Trinity, in a more lofty and heavenly manner than the other Evangelists before him. And hence *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, one of St. *Paul's* Auditors (whom *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* make Bishop of *Athens*, and *Baronius* translates afterwards to *Paris*) has this inscription in one of his Epistles, *To John the Divine, the Apostle and Evangelist*. Which Stile, tho' first used by him, was continued by *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Cyril* and others, as we read in *Baronius*. 'Tis true (21) "as *Dionysius* objects, "the stile of this Book is very different from "that in his Gospel, or what he uses in his three "Epistles; wherein things are delivered not only "correctly and with that exactness as becomes the

(20) *De doctrina Christ.* c. 25. (21) *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* l. 7.

“ Greek Tongue, but there is so much elegance
 “ and politeness throughout the whole composition,
 “ so much majesty in the words, and strength in
 “ the argument, that they are not to be charged
 “ with any of those Barbarisms, Incongruities and
 “ Idioms too frequently met with in the Book of
 “ *Revelations*—— So he. But why should we ex-
 pect such neatness and correspondence of language
 in Subjects so unsuitable? In his Epistles and Go-
 spel, tho’ inspired by the Holy Ghost for the
 materials of the writing, he was left at liberty to
 express himself in such words as he thought pro-
 per to set forth his meaning by. Whereas in the
Apocalypse he was tied to stricter Rules, and com-
 manded to Pen, not only *what*, but *as* it was told
 him. In the *first* he delivers matter of fact or
 points of Doctrine in what manner he thought
 best. But *here* he treats of things to come, and
 therefore must use *Prophetick*, i. e. *mysterious* Lan-
 guage, (23) very odd uncouth words, yet such
 as were prescribed him. In short, not only *things*
 were revealed, but the *Phrase* also dictated to
 him, and (24) many of those things in the same
 forms of expression as were observed by the El-
 der Prophets, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Isaiah* and *Zachary*,
 by whom the holy Spirit before spake on those
 Subjects; and therefore no wonder his stile is so
 harsh and rough, when he was to shew himself a
Prophet and not an *Orator*; especially in some
 instances which he put into *Greek* from *Hebrew*
Originals, and which he durst not vary one tittle
 from, lest he might be suspected to impose on the
 Churches. Yet to assert simply, as some do, that
 there is no affinity or resemblance between this
 Piece and the others of this inspired Pen-Man,

(23) Ἰδιώμασί μου βαρβαρικοῖς χράμενον καὶ οὐ καὶ συννοι
 ἡρώα, loc. cit. (24) Beza Proleg. ad *Apocalypsin*.

one Example may suffice to weaken this Objection, and if we compare *Rev. i. 7.* with the *Gospel Ch. xix. 37.* we shall find 'em agreeing as well between themselves as they both do with the Prophet *Zachary*, from whom the expression is borrowed, *They shall look on him whom they have pierced, Zach. 12. 10.*

B. I think, the strongest exception against this Book is, because it favours the *Millenary Doctrine*, which gave occasion for some to attribute it to *Cerintus* the *Abettor* of that Notion.

A. It cannot be denied, but the *Chiliasm* use the credit of this Book to support their fancy of reigning with Christ a thousand Years here upon Earth. But it would be very unreasonable to make ill Men the Authors of every part of Scripture which they wrest to defend their Errors by. Yet the same misfortune befell the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which some a long while rejected on the like score, because it seem'd to countenance the *Novatian* rigour, denying the possibility of true Repentance to them who Sinned after *Baptism*. And therefore the Disciples of this Sect were called *Cathari* or *Puritans*, a Name well known among our selves, without considering from whence it came. But to return to *Cerintus* and his Followers. Suppose Men mistake that passage of *St. John* in Chapter 20. 5, 6. and use it for a proof for Christs Reigning a thousand Years in this World; can this be thought reason enough either to reject this Book, or assign it to *Cerintus* the great promoter of that Doctrine? The *Heresick* had other very gross Tenets besides the *Millennium*, (25) such as denied God to be the Creator, with many other bold assertions which reflected on the Son of God. So that were he the

(25) August. de Hares.

Penner of this Book, why do we not find *these Heresies* Recorded there as well as the other? How came *this* to be set alone? and so worded, that the *Treatise* it self overthrows that to which it seems to give foundation. It mentions indeed the *Thousand Years*, (26) but where is one tittle of the way of Life in it which *Cerinthus*, and after him *Mahomet*, promises those who adhere to him? Where the least hint of that Luxury, that *Eating* and *Drinking*, those *Sports* and *Marriages*, those *Sacrifices* and *Feasts* to be celebrated at *Jerusalem*, which he talks of? Plainly the Book it self confutes all these Dreams, and the solid and lofty Subjects of it, argues it to be the more Divine. Its Language is dark and intricate, but that is not strange where the Matter is *Prophecy*. The more obscure it is, the more it calls for our pains, which being after all, not able to satisfy us, let us treat it with veneration, expect *Elias*, and wait for, with patience, the stated times, when all shall be fulfilled, and every part of it be made easie and plain. And having said thus much in favour of that Book, I hope you do not question but that I take it for what it is, *Canonical*, and a Sacred Writing.

B. I am sorry my rash Question should put you to this trouble. I perceive you deny not the *authority* of the Text, but only scrupled the *validity* of the Proof as it is *applied* to this Occasion.

A. You say well; I allow these words written by *St. John*, yet doubted whether we took em in the right sense; and whether his *Lords-Day* did infallibly mean *St. Paul's* and *St. Luke's first Day of the Week*, and that it is the same Day we now Celebrate in the Exercises of Religion.

B. Tradition saith it.

(26) Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* l. 3. c. 28.

A. It doth, and I much reverence *this way* of conveyance, and wish that all People would consider it an *instrument* or mean to bring many things to our Knowledge, which otherwise must needs have been buried in Eternal Oblivion. Nor do I ever except against the word, but when Men use it to colour *Novelty*, and impose on our Consciences points of Doctrine which have no warrant from the Apostles or the Gospel. I include not this Article of the *Lords-Day* within that number. It has a more unquestionable, because an *universal Tradition* accepted at *all times* and in *all places* where Christianity has been or is profess'd. Without all manner of doubt, the Custom is very ancient. St. *John* is a good precedent for us to admit the *Stile*, and we do admit it. I only boggle at the *Divine Institution* of it; nor can I readily allow that the *Apostles* themselves either by *Precept* or *solemn Consent* gave it that Name. This Authors words doth not infer any such thing; all proofs ought to be plain, and many times a good Cause suffers extremely, when Arguments are offer'd to support it which are liable to Cavil. That St. *John's Lords-Day* intends *the first Day of the Week*, and that he uses this Name as well known among the Churches is highly *probable*, but is no more than *probable*, and fair appearances are not grounds for infallible and divine Credit. It might be our *Lords-Day* St. *John* speaks of, because *Ignatius*, his Pupil, follows him in that Language, and Posterity subscribes to it, yet it *may not* be the same Day, because St. *Paul* and St. *Luke* give it *another Name* in their Writings to the *Gentiles*. Nay this Apostle himself who penned his Gospel two years later than the *Apocalypse* (27) and after

(27) Vid. A Lapid. Proleg. ad Apocal.

his return from *Patmos*, as *St. Augustine*, *St. Jerom* and *Eusebius* affirm, complies with *St. Paul* in this Character, and calls the Day of Christ's Resurrection *the first Day of the Week*; yet this was above twenty five years after the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, and for that Reason he was not obliged to conform himself to the way of calculation among the *Jews*, who were now no more a National People.

B. However, he might continue their mode of account with regard to the time while their constitution lasted, and when the passages fell out which he records in his Gospel.

A. Well; yet seeing that *Government* was now dissolved in *Church* and *State*, and that he went about this Work at the motion and intreaties of the *Asiatick Bishops*, and for the benefit of the *Christian Church*, it seems a little strange he should always omit the *Christian Name* of this Day throughout his Gospel; and having so fair an opportunity, not call it the *Lords-Day* instead of the *first Day of the Week*, or at least, after those words [*the first Day of the Week*] not add [*now the Lords-Day*] according to the manner of Scripture in other cases; which was natural enough, and had thereby shown the veneration he had for it, and taught them the same reverence to whom and for whose sake he writ that excellent Piece. And this the rather, because he brings in a *new Term* for the honour of his Master, I mean [*λόγος*] *the word*, to prove *Jesus Christ* to be the Eternal Son of God. And therefore it might be expected, he should some how or other have given us the *new Name* of that Day whereon the *Resurrection* fell out, which more effectually demonstrated the Divinity of our Saviour, than *λόγος* (which

(which we find (28) in *Plato's* Writings as well as in the *Gospel*) possibly could, and to the remembrance of which it was shortly after dedicated, I mean in a little time after the Resurrection, but long before he writ this account of it.

B. He had indeed fair Opportunities to mention it; yet his not doing so concludes little. Herein he complied with the way of the other Evangelists who writ before him, and who call it the *first Day of the Week*, according to the supputation of the *Country* which was the *Scene* of our *Lord's* Actions.

A. This concurrence of all the Sacred Writers confirms the Doubt. But that I confess which stumbles me most, is the Authority of *St. Paul*, who appears so zealous against the *Jewish Sabbath*, calls it a meer *Shadow*, denies the obligation of it in the *Christian Church*, and yet so far revives and so much honours it as still to call the *Week* by its Name, and the *first Day* [*πρῶτον τῶν σαββάτων*,] *one* or the *first of the Sabbath*, when he was speaking religiously of that Day, and had a better and fitter Name for it, if indeed the Name was in use at that time.

B. What then is your Judgment and Sense of it?

A. My present Opinion is, That the *Lords-Day* was observed very early in the Church; and that *St. John's* *ἡμέρα κυριακή*, is the same with what we call by that Name; That probably the Apostles themselves (at least some of 'em) spake in that

(28) Hinc & Gentilium Philosophi & Theologi, ut Trismegistus, Orpheus, Plato, alique Græci, Chaldaei & Ægyptii Patrem vocantur γυν—i. e.—mentem : Filium vero λόγον, quæ mentis prolem, teste Augustino l. 7. Confes. c. 9. Theodoro l. 2. de Curand. Gr. affect. & aliis. A Lap. in Johan. 1.

manner, because *Ignatius* who lived either with or very near 'em, has the same denomination. And we find it in the *Ecclesiastical Canons*, sometimes for their Antiquity called the *Canons of the Apostles*, tho' it may be short of their time; That the *Fathers* took it up on the Credit of these Precedents, and from the conveniency of the Stile it self, so respectful to our *Lord*, and so agreeable to the business of the *Day*, being a grateful and pious commemoration both of the honour our *Blessed Redeemer* did himself, and the Benefits he brought us by his *rising* from the Grave; and that all the Churches in succeeding Ages have for these Reasons conformed to the Language, which is warrant enough for us, in a thing of this nature, to follow their Examples, and give the *Day* this venerable Name rather than any other, at least in our more serious thoughts and discourses.

B. What then sticks with you?

A. I would have nothing accounted *more* a Truth, than it really is. Nor should we, as I said, offer any proofs which may shake the thing they are brought to confirm. I allow, nay I affirm it highly reasonable for *one Day in seven* to be set apart to remember the Glory and Advantages of *Christs Resurrection*. I can conceive *no Day* more proper than what we use, to make good that Design. I acknowledge in it both the Sense and Warrant of Antiquity; and I wonder at those that are apt to cavil at the *Custom*. Yet I approve by no means the other extreme; nor can I imagine it a *Divine Institution*, or be yet persuaded to think that Text of *St. John* clear enough to show it an *Apostolical Appointment*, and a *Sacred Rule*. Because we may observe in the Books of the Ancients it is variously called,

(29) the

(29) *the first day, the first day of the Week, the eighth day, Sabbath, Christian Sabbath, Sunday, &c.* So that [*Dominica* or] the *Lords-day*, tho' its most emphatical Name was never generally, absolutely and precisely used, as it certainly had been, if of *divine Institution*. For we are not left to this latitude in things where *Christ and his Apostles* have set us a Rule. Nor would the Church have presumed to take this Liberty, had the *Lords-day* been altogether its necessary Name, as it must needs be on that supposition. (30) And tho' I am not of *Metaphrastes's* Mind to make it the Invention of *Sylvester I.* seeing we read the word many years before him, yet 'tis very likely that the solemn and more publick use of it was not observed 'till about his time, when by *Constantine's* Command it became an *Injunction*, and was afterwards more generally noted in Conversation and Writings, Religious and Civil. And perhaps this might be that Authors Mind, who could not be ignorant of the word, tho' till that *Emperor* and *Prelate's* time, it had never commenced an *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, which agrees with the Notion of the present Church, looking on it to be [*τὸ ἕβδομον τὸ πρῶτον*,] a very decent and laudable Custom, yet still a *Custom* which we continue from Universal Tradition; a Custom of the Church, and not a Divine Ordinance, begun and kept up for the honour of the Lord Christ, that we might never forget the Miracle of his Resurrection. So *Bede*, and *Rabanus Maurus* say *Custom and Consent*. *Isidore* and *Hefychius* an *Apostolick Tradition*, and an instance of the Authority of the Church. The

(29) *Vid. Cypr. Ep. 59. Basil de Sp. S. Aug. in Ps. 93. Concil. Forojulien. Can. 13. (30) Suri Tom. 6. de Vir. Sanct.*

(31) Councils of *Paris, Friburg and Erpford, a Canonical Institution and Ordinance of the Fathers. Alcuinus and Aquinas, a Christian Usage, a Constitution of the Church, and Custom of Christian People. Tostatus, Bellarmine, Azorius and Estius among the Papists a Canonical, Humane Appointment.* (32) Among the Reformed, *Chemnitius, Calvin, Peter Martyr, Bullinger and Rivet, a Token of Christian Liberty. Amesius a positive Law, Brentius a Civil Institution and alterable, and our own Homilies call it The choice of Godly Christian People immediately after the Resurrection of our Lord.* To all which I add but one Authority more, and that is the *Royal Martyr*, who on this Principle argues for the observation of *Easter*. His words are these. " I conceive, saith he to the New
 " Reformers in his Reign, the Celebration of
 " this Feast [*Easter*] was Instituted by the same
 " Authority which changed the *Jewish-Sabbath*
 " into the *Lords-day, or Sunday*. For it will not
 " be found in Scripture where *Saturday* is dis-
 " charged to be kept, or turn'd into *Sunday*;
 " wherefore it must be the Churches Authority
 " that Changed the one, and Instituted the other.
 " Therefore my Opinion is, That those who
 " will not keep this *Feast*, may as well return to
 " the observation of the *Saturday*, and refuse the
 " Weekly *Sunday*: When any body can shew me
 " that herein I am in an Error, I shall not be a-
 " shamed to confess and amend it. C. Rex.

B. If this be so; that it is not of *Divine Appointment*, and that it is on all hands agreed, the reason of this usage is in remembrance of Christ,

(31) *Quia Christus Dominico die mundum recreavit, Concilium Laodicense diem Sabbati in diem Dominicum mutavit ne Judaismum imitari videremur.* Synod. Paris. apud Bochellum.

(32) *Novum Sabbatum pendet ex arbitrio Ecclesiae, &c.* Ursin. Catech. de Sab.

would

would not *Christ's-day* be as proper for this end, and perhaps in some respect, more to his honour than the *other* : Because this stile limits and makes the *Day* peculiar to himself, whereas the word *Lord* has a greater latitude, and means the other Two Persons of the Trinity as well as *Him*, and *Him* with regard only to his *Divine Nature* ?

A. The words *Jesus Christ* are words of Office. The *last* respects God the Father, the *other us*. *Christ* bespeaks him the *anointed of God*, and *Jesus* signifies *Saviour*. And being on this Errand sent into the World, from hence he takes that Name. And in acknowledgment of the Time when he came hither to execute this Office, we call it *Christmas*, and *Christ's Nativity*, as having an eye to what was then done ; He at that time appearing in a Body of Flesh, and thereby taking on him the condition and form of Man. But then this was a debasement of his Divine Person, and a State below his Infinite Nature, tho' not below his Mercy. Besides, under this Name he was exposed to all the Miseries and Infamies we are liable to, and was in the Prophet's Language, during his Sojourning here, *a Man of Sorrows*, and *acquainted with Grief*. In which, humanly speaking, there could be little satisfaction or honour done him. Add further, that this was a stile communicable to others, as *Kings*, *Priests* and *Prophets*, for *Cyrus* the Heathen was a *Christ*, and *Joshua* a *Jesus*. But the term *Lord*, the constant Translation of *Jehovah* in the Old Testament, is of a more sublime and incommunicable excellency ; it has always a regard to his Divine Part, and every where both signifies and owns his *Dominion*, *Sovereignty* and *Power* ; and hence *this word* was more in the mouths of the Ancients than that of *Christ*, according to the way of the Gospel and the Holy Apostles who generally gave him that Name, *a Name*
he

he was pleased to distinguish himself by, as we may see in *Matth.* xxi. 3. where he bids the two Disciples whom he sent for the *Asses* on which he intended to ride in Triumph to *Jerusalem*; *And if any man say unto you ought, you shall tell 'em, The Lord hath need of 'em, &c.* (33) insinuating thereby, that he was *Lord* of the Creatures, and of those who seem'd to own 'em. A knowledge of him he thought very necessary for his Friends and Followers to be instructed in; that as on the one side, when he spake mean things of his Person, he thereby proposed to 'em the Example of his *Humility and Patience*; (34) So when he sometimes magnified himself, it was to raise their Thoughts, and invite 'em to expect great things of him. So that from these warrants the Fathers took the Language, and every thing that was Sacred, Venerable and Great they called (35) *Lordly*, as *the Lords Banquet* and *Lord's Body* for the Eucharist. The *Dominic* for the Church. *The Lords Scripture*, and *Lords-word* for the Bible. *The Lords-People* for Christians, conformable to the Phrases we find in the H. Book, *the Cup of the Lord*, *the beloved of the Lord*, *the word of the Lord*; and so the *Altar* or *Communion-Table* is said to be the *Lords-Table*; and therefore this day likewise the *Lords-day*, rather than by any other Name, as more significant, more noble in it self, and more tending to his glory from whom the Name is derived.

And here I find I must conclude, because it grows late, and so I bid you good Night.

(33) Jo. Gerhard Continuat. Harm. Evang. c. 144.

(34) *Ut nos doceret de se credenda quæ magna erant.* Gerhard loc. cit.

(35) *Convivium Dominicum.* Κυριακὸν σῶμα. Κυριακόν, *Dominicum.* Κυριακὴ γραφή. Κυριακὸς λόγος. Κυριακὸς λαός.

The End of the First Dialogue.

A
DISCOURSE,

By Way of DIALOGUE,
ON THE

Lord's-Day.

DIALOGUE II.

The CONTENTS.

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A. **H**OW now, my Friend, was it by *mistake* or *design* that you were turning aside? Would you not or did you not see me coming?

B. The latter to be sure, because I came purposely hither in hopes to meet you.

A. I impute it then to (a) your *Thoughtfulness*; and excuse you by my own experience, it being ordinary with me to pass by People whom I well know and have a kindness for, without taking the least notice of 'em, when I am in a fit of thinking: And the reason of it is, because the Mind being at such a time very busie on some particular Subject, tho' the Senses are open and at liberty to receive their proper Objects, yet the Soul not attending and considering what is *seen* or *heard*, 'tis almost the same thing, as if the *Eyes* and *Ears* were shut.

(a) Cum intenti ad cogitandum sumus, & cum mens occupata in altum se abdiderit, neque audire quæ circumsonant, nec videre quæ obstant solemus—Lactantius de Opific. Dei. N. 16.

B. I confess I was very industrious to keep out all Objects that might divert my Mind from what I was thinking on, and therefore all the use I at present made of my *Sight* was only to keep me from stumbling, and that is the reason I did not discover you sooner.

A. You took the right way to secure your Meditation. Because *variety* of Objects continually and tumultuously crowding in through that Sense to the Brain, hinder the thoughts from being serious on any *One* particular thing. And therefore your Students when they are very intent on what they *read* or *compose*, they either *shut* or *fix* the Eye, to be able to comprehend and digest it the better. And hence it is that *Blind-Men* are said to have better Memories than other People. Not that it is really so, and that they have brains fitter to receive or retain the Ideas or Images of things than what is commonly found with other Neighbours, but the *impressions* are *fewer*; and because they see not at all, and hear little in comparison of others who converse abroad, what they get they constantly chew, and as occasion requires, can readily discourse on. But pray, if it be fitting for me to ask, What were your Thoughts employ'd on? that being made sensible of the matter of your Meditation, I may find myself more oblig'd to beg your pardon for offering to disturb you.

B. The Subject is, what I design'd to mention at our last Meeting, but that the Night prevented me. I mean the *Sabbath* or *Lords-day*, which our Minister lately Preach'd on, and whose Discourse I have been endeavouring to bring into as little compass as possibly I can, that I might not be over-tedious to you.

A. Pray begin.

B. The

B. The Summ was this. That the *Sabbath* of the fourth Commandment was partly *Ceremonial*, and partly *Moral*; That as far as it is *Moral* we still continue it under the Gospel; but for the *Ceremony*, we explode it as a *Type* and *Shadow*; and tho' we keep a *Seventh-day* in common with the *Jews*, yet it is not the *same Seventh-day*, because that was a circumstance of *positive Religion* we are not now oblig'd to, and is *alterable* by the Church as She shall see occasion for it. And if she doth not think fit to change that *Number*, it is not upon any *Moral* or *Natural* account, but out of pure respect to the *example* of God, who, as She reads in Scripture, *rested the Seventh-day* from his Works, and therefore she will have her Children to rest from theirs, in conformity to that Divine Pattern; yet it shall be *that Seventh day* whereon she may remember the great work of our *Redemption* by the *Resurrection* of the Lord Christ, to whom she devotes it, and calls it by his *Name*. This, as I remember, is the substance of what he delivered, and which with the Proofs and Authorities he cited made up the *Doctrine* of his Sermon. And I lay it before you, Sir, to see how it suits your Opinion, and that we may take this opportunity to clear the Question.

A. This *Controversie* about the *Sabbath* is very early, and has as much conduced to disturb the Church of God as any other point of Religion.
 “ (b) The starting needless Questions about the
 “ *Morality* of it, occasioning such Disputes and
 “ Heats as will not easily be allay'd. And while
 “ one Party *raised* the obligation of the fourth
 “ Commandment to a pitch that was not practi-
 “ cable, it provoked others to *slacken* it too

(b) Hist. of the Reformation.

66 *The Second Dialogue.*

“ much; and this produced many sharp reflections on both sides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of the *Day*, which instead of being so great a Bond and Instrument of Religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a Day of Looseness and Idleness.

It was begun by *Cerintus* and *Ebion*, who gave the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* very great disturbance in the execution of their Ministry, and were the occasion of that Famous Council at *Jerusalem* under *St. James* Bishop of the Place, wherein it was Decreed that *Christians*, especially the Gentile Converts, were not obliged to *Circumcision*, nor any rite of the *Law of Moses*, in opposition to the Doctrine of those Men who held and taught, that (c) *except all were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could not be saved*. Here indeed no mention is made of any point besides *Circumcision*; but they gave out, not only that Men ought to be *Circumcised* in the *Flesh*, but, as appears from the context, they were bound to the (d) *whole Law*, and some name the *Sabbath* in particular. After these followed the *Sectaries*, the *Disciples of Ebion*, whom *Isidore* calls *Semi-Judeos*, and who made the *Legal Ceremonies* necessary to *Salvation*, and were *half Jews*, and *half Christians*. Of the same stamp were the *Nazarai* who retained the *Sabbath*; and tho' they pretended to believe as *Christians*, yet they practised as *Jews*, and so were in reality neither one nor other. From them sprung the *Symmachiani*, great *Sabbatizers*, making an odd Miscellany of both Religions, and offering the

(c) Acts 15. 1. (d) *Non solum carne circumcidi sed etiam alia hujusmodi legis praecepta servari.* Aug. de *Heret.* Sola quidem circumcisio hic nominatur, sed ex contextu patet eos de tota lege movisse controversiam. Calv.

gross Sacrifices of *Beeves* and *Sheep*, as well as the Spiritual ones of *Prayers* and *Praises*. About the same time were the *Hypocritarij* who closed with these as to what concern'd the *Sabbath*, yet would by no means accept *Circumcision*, as too plain a testimony of ancient Bondage. All these were *Hereticks*, and so adjudged to be by the *Catholic Church*. Yet their Hypocrisie and Industry was such, as gain'd 'em a considerable footing in the Christian World. So that tho' the *Lords-day* had got a very great figure, and was well supported by those who presided in Religious Matters, yet for a long while the *Sabbath* kept its ground, and both together were respected as *two Sisters*. And when in process of time the *Sabbath-day* grew somewhat feeble, and was at length forced to give way to her Rival, the Abettors and Patrons of it, by a *Pythagorean* or *Marcion* Spell, recovered it in our *Festival*, and changing now and then the *Name* of the Day, revived the *observation* of it, and made it as solemn and rigorous in *Sunday*, as ever it had been in the *Day before*. This appears from the 3d. Provincial Council of *Orleans*, Can. 21. made on purpose to encounter this Error, and allowed many sorts of innocent *Work* to be done upon the Day. This was in the Reign of *Childebert*. About which time, the *Romans* gave the *Goths* a memorable Defeat, who having Married *Jewish* Women, and learnt their way of keeping the *Sabbath*, which they applied to the *Lords-day*, they would not so much as lift up their hands in their own defence, and the Enemies being aware of it, took that Day to assault 'em, and in a few hours utterly routed them. The Contagion had, it seems, spread it self as far as *France*, and succeeded so well, that the People were grown very superstitious in their notion of the *Christian Sabbath*, which occasion'd that Council

cil to oppose the growth of it, and thereupon gave that Indulgence I before spake of, permitting all businefs to be done which did not hinder their coming to the Church and serving God in the hours of publick Worship. Yet still the others went on in their way; and to induce their Profelytes to spend the Day with greater exactness and care, they brought in the old Argument of (e) *compassion and charity to the Damned in Hell*, who, during the day, have some respite from their torments, and the Ease and Liberty they have is more or less, according to the zeal and degrees of keeping it well. And now the *Morality* of the fourth Commandment grew into great request; which is the reason that *Clotaire* and *Charlemaign* publishing Edicts for the stricter observation of the *Lords-day*, they so worded 'em as to make (f) *Scripture* the ground of what they required, supposing what was commanded concerning the *Sabbath* equally related to *this other Festival*; and tho' the *Day* was changed in remembrance of the *Resurrection*, yet in other respects, the *Ceremonial* part continued, and *Christians* were enjoyn'd to observe it with the same preciseness, as the *Jews* did, and still do after the Law of *Moses*. And for fear the Doctrine should not take without *Miracles* to support it, *Gregory of Tours* furnishes us with several to that purpose. And *Eustathius* a Norman Abbot, Associate to *Fulco* a *French Sabatarian* in the Thirteenth Century, comes into *England* with a (g) *Mandate* touching the *Lords-day*, which he pretended was found on the Altar at *Golgotha*, wherein God is said to declare, that

(e) *Refrigerium paenarum habuerunt.* Pet. Dam.

(f) *Statuimus secundum quod in lege Dominus praecepit.* Car. Mag. in Leg. Aquisgr. (g) Tom. 7. Bini. Conc. in Scotia celebrat. An. 1203.

the *Famine* and some other *Calamities* then raging, was, *because they had not kept holy the Lords-day, &c.* So that we see by what sort of Men the *Sabbatarian* Doctrine began, upon what foundation they built, and by what means and arts they kept it in repair. And notwithstanding this, after the *Reformation* here, upon a *shew* of Piety by the pains and industry of a few Men, it came abroad again with more vigour than before, and has not a little helped to distract and divide us. I do not say this was *intentionally* their End, but so it has fallen out. Charity suggests better things; and I hope this Zeal was primarily directed against another Extreme, and to check that party of Men who are so far from admitting the Old *Sabbath*, that their notion of *Christian Liberty* is, to observe henceforward *no Days* at all. And altho' both sorts, as far as the *Jew* is concern'd, allow the *Divine Authority* of the fourth Commandment; yet, as to themselves, they very much disagree in the interpretation and sence of it. For the *Latter* so understand it as to make it simply and wholly *Ceremonial*; and therefore argue, That under the *Gospel* we ought to have no *Set times* to Worship God in, but every Man is to be left to his own discretion, to *time*, as he pleases, the exercises of his Religion. In the number of which *Libertines* were the (h) *Petrobrusians* of old, and in latter Ages the Error is charged on the *Anabaptists* and *Family of Love*.

B. A wild Opinion surely, and without ground for it.

A. Yet they offer Scripture, and from these words of St. Paul [*Let no Man judge in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new Moons,*

(h) Vit. Bernardi. Hospin. de festis Christ. c. 1.

or the *Sabbaths*---Coloss. ii. 16. infer, That there is now no more reason to tie our selves to *stated times* in the performance of Religious Service, than to make a difference between *meats* and *drinks* as the *Jews* did, and therein placed no low degrees of Holiness.

B. I suppose the Apostle means the *Jewish Festivals*, such as the *Pasover* and *Pentecost*, because he joyns 'em with the *New-Moons* and *Sabbaths* peculiar to that People.

A. In all likelihood he does. For the whole Epistle was purposely writ against the *Simoniani* and other false Teachers who made it their study to bring into the Church many Rites belonging to the *Jews*, as St. *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose* and *Augustine* expounded it. And that they might put a better face on the matter, (i) They did not think it proper to press the *intire* and rigorous observance of the *Mosaic* Customs on these Converts at *Colossi* (a Yoke they were not able to bear) but moderating the use of 'em, they did not much care how little they were submitted to, provided they gain'd so far as to be able to say, That they had reduced that People to *Judaism*; and this they did, either out of a desire of *Novelty*, or thro' a mortal hatred of the Christian Religion, which yet, in some Cases, they would be thought to favour. This shows it self from their own practice, which St. *Paul* twits 'em with in another Epistle, wherein he cautions the *Galatians*, and sets before 'em the design of these Doctors. For neither they themselves, being circumcised, keep the Law, but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your

(i) Satis illis erant si cum circumcissione reliquam legem a Gentilibus saltem ex parte observari, facerent, ut sic eos ad ritum suum Judaicum se traduxisse gloriari possint. Estius in Coloss. 2. 16.

flesh, Gal. vi. 3.] They were contented to be circumcised according to the Law, yet laid no stress on their obedience to the Law which they became Debtors to by the very act of Circumcision; and provided the *Colossians* wou'd be Circumcised as they were, they might live as they pleased, their *Circumcision* being enough to expose the *Gospel Liberty*. This seems to be the importance of that Expression, *Ἐν μέλει ἑορτῆς*, which we render *in respect of an Holy-day*, but more strictly signifies *part of an Holiday*. For these *Hereticks* taught that there was no need to celebrate all the old Festivals, nor any one of them so precisely, as the *Jews* kept 'em, but if (k) *in part*, they observed 'em it was sufficient, and even *this* was a mitigation of the *Legal Severity*, so that there was no need to boggle at it in the state of *Christianity*. But the Apostle will not allow the *Colossians* to comply in the least tittle; and bids 'em have a care how they lent an Ear to such Men who endeavour'd, all they could, to impose this Doctrine on 'em, and bring 'em back into thraldom.

B. I think I have read that this Phrase [*ex parte diei festi*] refers to the *Talmud* divided into several Sections or Chapters, one whereof treats of this Subject about *Holidays*, *New-Moons*, &c.

A. Some take the words in that Sence, and Paraphrase 'em thus: (1) "Let no Man intrude on you those things which are set down by the *Rabbins* in their Section of Feasts—However it amounts to the same thing, because it is agreed on all sides, that the word [*Holiday*] eyes the *Jew*: and St. Paul's design in it was to inform the People at *Colossi* that they were not bound to the

(k) A Lapid in loc.

(1) Dr. Hammond.

Mosaick Festivals, which were only (m) *Prophe-tick Ceremonies*, saith *St. Augustine*, leading to Christ and the Gospel, but of no further use since the *Antitype* it self was come. And therefore to say there are to be no *fixed times* for the Service of God, under the Gospel, and that every Man is now left to his own leisure and fancy, *when and how* to do it, This is to make Christ the Author of great confusion, and very little comports with the mind of *St. Paul*, who would have all things done (of Religion especially) *decently and in order*, 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

B. Methinks the Exception against our *Holidays* is much stronger from the words of this Apostle elsewhere. For he blames the *Galatians* after their Conversion (n) *For observing days, and months, and times, and years*, and tells 'em that *he is afraid he has bestowed on 'em labour in vain*. Now here is no mention made of the *Jewish Festivals*, and yet it is plain they observed such after their leaving *Paganism*, and 'tis as plain *Paul* censures 'em for it, and thereby gives countenance to the Opinion of these Men.

A. The common Judgment is, saith *Calvin*, that *St. Paul* in this place means the (o) *Astrological Days* of the *Chaldeans*, which the Heathens superstitiously observed in the transacting of all Business, and expected the Events of Life to be good or bad, according to the *aspect and situation* of the Stars, or as *this* or *that Planet* favour'd or look'd askew on 'em. One Man would not begin his Journey, because it was an *unlucky Day*; Another refus'd to Merchandize *this Month*, because a *Star*

(m) *Prænunciativæ observationes contra Faustum*. Ambros. in Coloss. (n) Galat. 4. 10. (o) Vid. Aug. Ep. 119. Hospinian, de Festis Ethnic. Calvin in loc. Rivet.

was then *Ascendant* which promised him little Success. And a *Third* put off Planting his Vineyard 'till *Leap-Year* was over. Thus *Lycurgus* made a Law, that the *Lacedemonians* should never engage in Battel 'till the *Full-Moon*. And *Ammianus* reports of *Valentinian*, that being Elected Emperor he durst not appear abroad on the *Bis-sextile*, as an *unfortunate Day* every fourth Year. Among the ancient *Romans* the next Day after the *Kalends*, *Nones* and *Ides* of each Month was always suspected; and so was the whole Month of *Daisios* [*June*] by the *Macedonians*. The (p) Sea-Men have an ill opinion of several Days in *February*, *March* and *April*, because, as they affirm, there is on them an alteration of the Sea, and a greater disposition than at other times to Calms or Tempests, and so continue in Harbour 'till those Days are over. The like Custom is used by many who profess *Christianity*, especially on *Childermas-day*; whereon, it is said, *Lewis XI.* of *France* would not Debate any matter, but accounted it a *Sign* of some great Misfortune attending him, if any Man, at that time troubled him with Business. These, saith (q) *St. Augustine*, the Apostle chides, and is urgent with them to forbear their idle Fancies. And that Father much lamented, that People otherwise Pious, could not be perswaded to lay aside those Superstitious Conceits which did not a little reflect on their *Christian* Principles. But if we examine the *Scope* and *Design* of this Epistle, we shall find it much the same with that in his other Epistle to the *Colossians*; and that *St. Paul* censures these Converts for being too favourable to those Teachers

(p) *Cœlius. lib. 8. c. 9. Vid. Selden de jure Nat. l. 3. c. 17.*
 (q) *Ad Januar.*

who made it their business to support *Judaism*, or at least by a composition or *mixture* of both *Perswasions*, confound *Christ* and *Moses* together. By *his Days* then are meant the *Sabbaths*, by *his Months* the *New-Moons*, and the *Seventh Month*, which for the variety of Feasts in it was almost (r) *Holy*, by *his times*, are intended the *great Holidays* of the Four Seasons: [at *Spring*, the *Pasover*, at *Summer*, *Pentecost*, at *Autumn*, the *Feast of Expiation*, at *Winter* the *Encœnia* or *Feast of Dedication*] and by *his years* the *Sabbatum Sabbatorum*, the *Seventh* or *Sabbatic Year*, and the *fiftieth Year* the *Jubilee*. Or possibly by *times*, as *St. Jerome* thinks, may be understood the three solemn *Times* of the Year, when they were all to meet at *Jerusalem*, all the *Males* at least, as we see *Exod. xxiii. 14, 17*. Now as it seems, the *Galatians* were infected with this *Doctrine* about *Days* and *Times*, and thereupon the *Apostle* expresses himself very much displeas'd with 'em, and the rather, because being *Gentiles*, and by consequence not related to the *Jews* or their *Ceremonies*, they so readily submitted to a *Yoke* which their *Baptism* secured 'em from, and thro' a dangerous easiness ran from one *Superstition* of *Days*, which they were born and bred in, to another *Superstition* of *Days*, which they had been hitherto strangers to, and which was as unsafe for them, as what they left when they renounced *Gentilism*. So that this concludes no more than the proof foregoing: And tho' the *Apostle* blamed them for observing the *Mosaical Sabbaths*, *New-Moons*, and the rest, yet his words condemn not the (s) *reasonable* and

(r) A Lap. ex Orig. in Nu. (s) Prohibetur Christianis dierum discrimen, non simpliciter sed cum opinione necessitatis observatum—Ursin. Catech. de Sab.

equitable part of those Days, it being very fit that *some times* should be allotted to honour God, and acknowledge his Mercies in, tho' void of that Superstition and Ceremony which made the *Jewish* so very burthensome.

And certainly, as (t) St. *Augustine* speaks, it is very *just* that the Creature should magnifie his Creator, for he made us to praise him, tho' he stands in no need of it. This is the great Errand we were sent into the World for; and here we find God doing so many things for us, that we ought to say with the Psalmist, *praised be the Lord daily, even the God that helpeth us, and poureth his benefits on us*, Ps. lxxiii. 19. But tho' every minute of Life hath some interest and share in the instances of kind Providence, and therefore we should be engaged in a constant acknowledgment of what we receive from God, and have our *whole time* consecrated to his Service, according to that of *David*, *my praise shall be always of thee*, Psal. lxxi. 5. (u) Yet because our weakness will not admit this, and that our uninterrupted Hallelujahs are reserved to a better Life, where there will be no Temptations to carry us aside, it hath pleas'd our Divine Benefactor to content himself with a *few days* and times for us to Celebrate thereon such Works of his as seem to have larger Characters either of Mercy or Power. *All the Works of God are so done that they ought to be had in remembrance*, Ps. cxi. 4. But seeing it is very hard, if not impossible, to be particular in our thanks for *every one of 'em*; and that God has not made *all* his Mercies alike, to call for a like Devotion; and that we have not leisure to reflect distinctly and

(t) Medit. c. 28.
Sect. 32.

(u) Calvin Instit. l. 2. c. 8.

severally on 'em all, 'Tis a piece of holy discretion to pitch on *such* for our best and most solemn acknowledgments as God hath distinguish'd and stamp'd with some *extraordinary* Figures. This is in few words, the reason of all Festivals throughout the World, whereon are Recorded the most beneficial and surprizing Actions of God *to be standing Memorials of Gods Mercies to future Ages, and that they might not hide 'em from the Children of the Generations to come, but shew forth the honour of the Lord, his mighty and wonderful works that he hath done.* And this is the ground of the Holi-days in use among us, (w) *To be commemorations of the mysteries, means and witnesses of our Redemption, to preserve a solemn memory of those high benefits which either by himself or any of his blessed Instruments God hath bestow'd on Mankind.*

The Heathens had *many* such Feasts or Days of remembrance; and tho' they mistook the *Objects* which at such times they directed their Devotion to, yet they were *not* mistaken in the *reason* of the Service; and they chose rather to commit an Error in giving the honour of a Blessing to a *wrong* Benefactor, than not to be grateful in celebrating the Blessing it self, which made them *safe* or *happy*. It would be too tedious to go thro' em all, but briefly those Titles commonly given to *Jupiter*, of *Inventor, Feretrius, Stator, Victor, Servator* and *Conservator*; *Sospitatrix* to *Juno*; *Medicus, Palatinus, Aëtiacus* and *Navalis* to *Apollo*; *owship* so often added to the Names of *Neptune, Diana, Asculapius, Castor* and *Pollux*, &c. — These, I say, were Testimonies to shew the great motive of all such Appointments; and that both the *Wor-*

(w) St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 10. c. 4. Vid. Hook. Eccl. Pol. l. 5. c. 71.

ship and the Solemn Times they set apart to express it in, were a kind of *Record* to Posterity, to keep a foot those Benefits which the Almighty Power and Infinite Wisdom of the Deity convey'd to 'em by such or such hands. And this they were taught by the *light of Nature*, which we call the *Equity* and *Moral* of all the Jewish Festivals, and which certainly reaches us still, tho' we explode the tyrannical part, and by virtue of our *Christian Liberty* reject what made the observation of their Days nauseous and uneasy. However it is a thing altogether necessary that *some times* should be assigned for the Divine Worship; and no Man surely is so licentious in his perswasion, but will admit this necessity, only he would be left at liberty to appoint *such* as please him best, which in strictness by the liberty he is recovered to thro' the Gospel he can and may. Yet in St. Paul's language, (x) *all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawfull, but all things edifie not.* (y) It is not convenient for Piety-sake, that this should be, because if every Man was thus left unto himself, and that Peter would worship *this day and hour*, and John that, what distraction would there be in the Church of God? whereas by consenting, as we may say, to some particular and certain times, we make our Devotion, not less hearty, but more remarkable in the eye of the World, and by that means more conducive to the honour of him whom publickly and in common we adore at *such an hour of this or that Day*.

B. Is not this a kind of *restraint*, and an abridgment of our *Christian Liberty* wherewith

(x) 1 Cor. vi. 12. c. x. 23.
c. 8. Sect. 32.

(y) Calv. Instit. l. 2.

Christ has made us free? If we do not as we will, (2) where is *Liberty*?

A. 'Tis no restraint at all, but what tends to our conveniency. For illustration sake let us consider our selves in the *Civil Capacity*. We are all *Free* by Nature, and it is a piece of our Birth-right to be subject to no Person, nor be obliged in any thing. But who is there (able to think) that would wish himself in this State, which exposes him to the Law of every Mans *Will*? Where each one is left to the Empire of himself, it cannot be possibly thought that his *Ambition* will fix there; and if he extends it beyond his own Person, as every Man on Earth has a strong inclination to it, then that which you call *Liberty*, is nothing but a *state of War*, and a few days would bring us all to confusion and slaughter. So that to be subject to wholesome Laws, is not *Slavery*, but a *Protection* from our Neighbours, who would, each in his turn if he can get strength for it, make us *Slaves* indeed, and quickly bring our *Liberty* to nothing. Laws and Government are curbs to *Licentiousness*, no destroyers of *Liberty*; and where we do not act the *Slaves* to our Vices, but live according to the dictate and influence of better reason, by virtue of these Laws we act with more freedom, and more like our selves; because in the mean while they tie the hands of those who would otherwise oppress us. Thus as to our *Christianity*; it puts us into a state of *Liberty* as to what concerns the rigour and slavery of the *Jewish Constitution*;

(2) *Quid est libertas? Potestas vivendi ut velis. Cicero in Paradox. Est naturalis facultas quod cuique facere lubet. Justinian. Τίς φυσική ἐνχέρεια συγχωρεῖσα πράττειν ἢ βέβηλαι—* or τὸ ποιεῖν ὅπερ τις βέβηλαι. Τὸ ἐλεύθερον τὸ μηδενὸς ὑπερκαθεῖν ἀλλὰ πράττειν ἁπλῶς τὰ δοκῦντα ἑαυτῷ—Chrysost. Orat. 14.

and

and in particular we stand not obliged to the tediousness and troublesome observation of *their days, times and years*. But doth this argue against any *set times* for the Service of God, because we are freed from their *Superstitions*? Can we imagine that our *Liberty* extends so far, as not to worship God, or not worship him in a way which better answers the end we propose in so doing, and which is to magnifie him the more in our unanimous and concurrent devotions? (1.) St. Peter's Advice is good, that we should *look on our selves as free*, but not so free as to *use our liberty for a cloke of maliciousness*, but *as the Servants of God*. We are freed from *legal Bondage*, yet still we are *God's Servants*, and we ought to honour him in a way that makes most for his Glory. Which being best done at *set times* and in *set places*, it proves the conveniency of such Institutions, wherein we serve him with a comparative freedom, and we may call it *liberty* with respect to the *ceremony* and *severity* of the *Mosaick injunctions*.

B. But do we not by the very terms attribute something extraordinary to such *stated Times*; and by calling them *Holy-days*, fix the same Sanctity on 'em as the *Jews* conceited to be in *theirs*?

A. (2) *Sanctification* is nothing else but a *Sequestration* of any thing from a *common* to a *religious purpose*; and all we mean by *consecrating* things, is to *set 'em a-part* for sacred uses. And if we distinguish *one Day* from *another*, it is not to *alter* the nature of the Day, or make it *simply holy*, but that the difference being known, People might be

(1) 1 Pet. ii. 16. (2) Τί ἐστὶν ἡγάσεν αὐτὴν; ἀφάρισεν αὐτὴν. Chrys. Hom. 10. in Gen. Πᾶς χρόνος ἱερὸς ἐν ᾧ τὸ θεῷ ἐπικοινωνοῦμεν. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2.

invited to come together, to do in a publick manner the Duties of Religion, the performance whereof makes *any* Day or *any* Place *holy*, while such things are doing. And so the Law of *England* explains it. (3) **Which Works, as they may be well called Gods Service, so the times especially appointed for the same, are called Holidays, not from the matter or the nature either of the time or day; for so all days and times are of like holiness, but for the nature and condition of such holy works whereunto such times and days are sanctified, i. e. separated from all prophane uses, and dedicated to God and his Worship.** In all this we consult only (4) (*Order and good Government*), and our Opinion is, that every Day of the Week and Year hath the same efficient Cause of Divine Creation. And as Christ is Lord of the *Sabbath*, so likewise all Days and Times are subject to his Providence and Dominion; and whenever our Language may seem to make *one* Day more *holy* than *another*, we must not be understood as if we infuse any real sanctity into it, but as we apply it to a Sacred and Religious Use. “ (5) And as *Altars, Garments and Vessels* are said to be *holy* because typically so, and with relation to the things signified by ’em, but not in the things themselves; so times are *holy*, not strictly and properly, but as they are the measure of holy actions. Thus far the Apostle warrants our practice, who tho’ censuring the *Galatians* for observing times, yet himself (without respect to the *Jew*) had his *set day*, or *first Day* of the

(3) 5 & 6. Edw. VI. (4) *Respectus habetur politie & ordinis, non dierum.* Marl. *Sabbatum aestimamus non propter se, sed propter cultum dei*—Curcell. de esu Sanguinis.
 (5) Bishop of Ely de Sab.

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Week, whereon he and his Converts met for the exercises of their Religion, and 'tis continued in use to this Day. Which shows plainly, that tho' he exploded the *Sabbath* as *such*, it was not in his mind that all Days should be made so much alike as to leave no mark of distinction between 'em, because the *first Day of the Week* was solemnly kept, tho' solemnized and considered in a way more agreeable to the temper of the Gospel. So that I conclude with the words of *Zanchy*,
“The Apostle in these places doth not forbid
“certain Days, whereon the faithful might as-
“semble to pray and communicate together; for
“the Apostles and others did usually meet on
“the Lords-day, and would that all things
“should be done orderly in the Church. And
“therefore unless we would affirm that *St. Paul*
“contradicted himself, it must needs be con-
“fess'd that in those Epistles to the *Galatians*
“and *Colossians*, he did nothing less than teach,
“that Days were not to be observed now in the
“Church of Christ.

B. Well; but if a Mans perswasion be against it, and that according to the notion he has of *Christian Liberty* he believes he is not bound to such *stated Days*, would you have him comply against his Conscience? *Paul* in general denies this conformity, for, saith he (6) *what-ever is not Faith is Sin*. And in particular, which is more to our present purpose, he tells us that *one Man esteemeth one Day above another, another esteemeth every Day alike*. What then? which of 'em is to blame, *They* that did, or *They* who did not make this distinction?

(6) Rom. xiv. 5, 23.

It seems *neither*, for both Parties were in the right, because both acted according to Conscience. Let every man be perswaded in his own mind, and then by virtue of this perswasion, he that regardeth the Day, regardeth it to the Lord, and he that regardeth not the Day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. So that here is a Rule to walk by, Conscience is left the Judge, and according to her conduct we are to square our actions. *Concilio suo remittatur*, are Ambrose's words, and every Man is to satisfie his own mind in what he is going to do, or else what he doth becomes a Sin.

A. The Place you referr to is brought for a third proof against the institution of *certain Days* to worship God in. And so far the Argument holds good, that we are to do nothing with a doubtful mind, and while Conscience boggles against the doing of it, and the Authority of St. Paul in those two Texts of Scripture confirms the Doctrine. But altho' a Man is obliged in point of safety to act or speak according to the influence of his Conscience or inward perswasion, yet he is to take special care that his perswasion be well grounded, that he has used all honest means to inform himself, and that he doth nothing out of singularity or wilfulness, but purely by the motions and directions of his Conscience, which he is certainly to follow, whether the thing be true or false, which at present sticks with him.

To explain then these words of the Apostle, *whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin*; and again *one man esteemeth one day above another*. It is evident from the Law of Moses that the People of the Jews were bound to make a difference between

tween *Meats* and *Days*. (7) *These are the Beasts which you shall eat, and these shall you not eat, they are unclean.* And so as to times. (s) *Three times shalt thou keep a Feast unto me, and remember the Sabbath-day.* Now some *Jews*, and not a few *Gentiles*, being made *Profelytes* to the *Christian Religion*, they had for a considerable time *different* notions of many *Points* relating to their new profession; and *this* difference was like to occasion not only warm disputes, but strong animosities among 'em, which the *Apostle* was aware of, and willing to prevent, and so for the conservation of *Charity* and *Peace* he thought fit to let 'em know, that notwithstanding their *seeming* disagreement in these and the like matters, yet they might rest satisfied with this Consideration, that they *all* consented in the main, and in reality meant the *same thing*, which was to submit to *Conscience*, and be guided every *Man* by his *perswasion*. Allowing then the *Jews* (in conformity to the way they had been Educated in) started at the eating of *Swines flesh*, because the *Law* forbid it, and would still observe the *Old Festivals*, because the same *Law* required it, which *Law* they had a great veneration for, and the repeal of it did not so evidently appear, but some *Scruples* still remain'd, and during those *Scruples*, 'twas necessary to comply with it, If these *Men* (9) *being weak in the Faith* as he represents 'em, and as yet not sufficiently understanding the *liberty* the *Gospel* gave 'em, would still retain the *Jewish Feasts*, and forbear *Swines-Flesh*, because yet they were not *otherwise per-*

(7) Levit. xi. 2, 4.

(8) Exod. xxiii. 14.

(9) Rom. xiv. 1.

swaded, there was no harm in all this, they might do it, seeing in both these instances there was no dishonour to God, but that on the contrary, their honest design was not to offend him. But for the *Gentiles*, who, it may be, had no such Lessons taught 'em in their youth, at least not supported with that Authority which the *Jews* could offer for what they held and did, and perhaps were greater Proficients in the business of Christianity, because they had none of those deep impressions to erase, nor strong prejudices to remove, which made the *Jews* so slow and timorous; *these* Men made no distinction of *Meats* and *Days*, but without any reluctance, enjoy'd and asserted the Privileges of the *Gospel*. And *these* as much honour'd God in *refusing* those distinctions, as the *Jews* did in *keeping* 'em a-foot. And *both* did well, because *both* were fully perswaded in their own minds; and if *either* Party had behaved themselves contrary to this *perswasion*, they had been guilty of Sin.

B. This therefore inforces the Argument. That their *Perswasion* was to guide 'em; and tho' their Opinions were contrary to one another, as to *Meats* and *Days*, yet all was well, because in this difference their *Conscience* it seems pleaded for 'em.

A. I hope you remember what I said, that one sort of the Persons here spoken of were *Novices*, late Converts, and *weak in the Faith*. They must therefore be indulged and tenderly used, lest they should start back and relapse to the Errors they had renounced at their *Baptism*. And this is the Reason, (10) " Tho' the A-

“ postles by the gift of Miracles had sufficient
 “ means to convince the World of their Autho-
 “ rity, yet they did not all at once change the
 “ Customs of *Moses* Law, but proceeded by
 “ degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up
 “ of the Tares, lest the Wheat should be pul-
 “ led up with ’em. So it was fit to wean
 “ People by degrees from their former Super-
 “ stition, and not run too fast. *St. Paul* was
 willing to be (11) *all things to all Men to gain*
some. He knew their Condition would not yet
 bear a *thorough Reformation*. He will therefore
judaize a little with those, who otherwise had
 he carried himself stiff, might return to *Ju-*
daism. Without doubt he disliked this *Medly*;
 Nor did he spare other Persons better ground-
 ed, and for a longer time inured to the Prin-
 ciples of Christianity, witness his Carriage to-
 wards the *Galatians* on this account, whom he
 sharply reprov’d for the very thing he excuses
 in this Chapter. But he must be *Prudent* as
 well as *Zealous*, his *Zeal* shall be according to
Knowledge, in due time he may make *them* as
 sensible of their Errors as *those of Galatia*, but
 they must be taught by degrees, and according
 to their Capacities. The Grace of God and the
 Apostles instruction might at length alter their
 perswasion, but until this be done, they ought
 to act by it, and it was dangerous for these
 Converts to abjure any part of their Creed,
 ’till they were well convinced they had been
 mistaken in it.

The Summ is this: That Christians are not
 obliged to the *Jewish* distinction of *Times* and

(11) 1 Cor. ix. 22.

Meats. And so far these Proofs stand good. But to inferr from thence, that because we are not held to observe the *Sabbath*, and other Feasts of the Old *Law*, we are not to set apart *certain Times* for Gods Service under the *Gospel* (as being a *Ceremony* terminated by Christ) this is very remote from the design of the Holy Writer, whom we so often find mentioning and preaching on *the first Day of the Week*. As God is to be Worshipped, so he must have *Set Times* and *Places* for the doing of it, or else we shall express a very *wild* and *confused* Devotion. And tho' as I said, we are under no Superstitious Slavery or Opinion of Holiness inherent to Times or Places, according to the Sentiments and Practice of the *Jews*, yet both *Times* and *Places* are very convenient to be set apart and well known, that every body may use 'em for the honour of God, and thereby exhibit *Christian Communion* and *Charity* between themselves. However, if any Scripture has so much imprest some People as to make 'em doubt whether any such Times ought to be observed or no; To forbear is safe 'till they be better informed; And as I would not have 'em comply as long as the Doubt remains, because I would not have 'em offer violence to Conscience, yet let 'em not be obstinate and peevish, when Satisfaction is tender'd 'em, for even this is an *offence* to Conscience, to *reject* a Truth when sufficient *Evidence* for it is laid before them. But if a Man will shut his Eyes when the *Sun* shines, upon no other reason, but because he will not see, let him have a care the Judgment of God (the usual lot of such People) never meets with him, to be in the issue made so blind, that he cannot thenceforward see if he would.

But

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But leaving this Extreme, which makes the *Sabbath* a Ceremony altogether, to elude in all respects the obligation and observance of it. Let us now go on to the other, which as much over-does, and by giving that *Law* of the 4th Commandment a greater degree of *Morality* than it can well bear, by this excess run themselves into no less Error.

These Men are of two sorts: Whereof some look on this *Precept* with the same Eye as the other *Nine*, and thereupon keep not only *one Day in seven*, but the very same *Seventh-Day*, and in the same manner as the *Jews* before 'em; which indeed they ought to do, on the Supposition they espouse, there being no room left for *alteration*, where Laws are *Perpetual*, and simply *Moral*. The Authors and Abettors of this Doctrine you had before; and it cost *St. Paul* great pains to answer and confute it; And in particular those places which we just now took notice of, are directed against that Notion; and their proper End was to silence the Controversie, or stop the progress of it. Yet a few there are to this day who *Judaize* in this instance; And tho' I dare not play the Judge and usurp on their Conscience, yet they would do well to consider *St. Paul* seriously, who among other things, makes the *Sabbath* a Shadow, and Christ the Body; and consequently to continue the *Sabbath* now, indirectly denies that Christ is *come*.

Others therefore dare not venture so far, but do allow it so much *Ceremony* as to make good that Character the Apostle gives of it. And tho' on that account they explode the *Saturday-Sabbath* and the circumstances of *rest* writ down in the Commandment, yet conclude,

not only that *appointed Days* are necessary for divine Worship, but the very *same* proportion of time ought to be consecrated to God, and will have the *Seventh Day* to be *Moral*, as well as the *Service* of it. And hence have proceeded many harsh Sayings, “ *That to do any Business* “ *on the Lords-day, is as great a Sin as to mur-* “ *ther a Man, or commit Adultery; Or to* “ *Feast on it is of as ill a complexion in Gods* “ *sight, as if a Father should take a Knife and* “ *cut his Childs Throat, and the like.* The reason of all which is, That they look on the *Precept* about the *Sabbath* equally binding with the rest, and equally punishable in the Old Testament, where they read that (12) *whosoever doth work thereon shall be put to death*, (13) as the Man who *gathered sticks* on that Day was *stoned with stones*; which they apply to the present Case, and believe the same *Law* still in force, tho’ the execution of it be suspended by the *Magistrate’s* neglect or indulgence. An Error I think, confuted by its own practice. For if the keeping of the *Sabbath-day* and punishment for transgressing of it be *both Moral*, how come they so far to presume on the Day as to *change* it into another? In short, why do they not observe *that Sabbath-day*? Whatever *Reasons* they offer for this liberty, destroys the *Morality* of the *Sabbath*; and if they believe they have sufficient power to alter the Day without danger, then the punishment it self ceases of course; and either the *Law* is not in force, or themselves are exposed to the Penalty for transgressing it in such a gross manner, as the *alteration* of the Day amounts to, and is a piece of

(12) *Exod. xxxv. 2.*(13) *Numb. xv. 36.*

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Boldness somewhat more unaccountable, than what they are guilty of who by some little irreverence do not keep it so religiously as they ought.

But without taking this advantage against some few indiscreetly zealous on this Subject, Let us examine the *principle* and ground they all go upon concerning the Obligation of the Day, and consider whether in truth the *Sabbath* be *Moral*, or the *Law* such, which is brought for an Argument to prove it so. The notion of a *Moral Law*, which with respect to the way of having such Principles convey'd to us, is also call'd *Natural*, I take to be this.

B. Pray give me leave to interrupt you. You make the *Moral Law* and the *Law of Nature* the same. And if so, what occasion was there for God so solemnly to divulge those Doctrines which by the light of Nature were known before?

A. It was to show by this new Publication, that he was the Author of those 1st. Notions implanted in the Soul, and that *Nature* was nothing but *himself* under another Name. And 2^{dly}, (14) Because after the fall of *Adam*, so great a darkness had invaded the Understanding of Man, that it very much obscured the Knowledge of *Natural Laws*, and rendred the Assent more difficult, because of the opposition in the inferiour Faculties continually made against it, it pleas'd God in this formality to dispel those Clouds, and renew the impression of all those Laws, and make 'em more regarded than in that degeneracy they had otherwise been. As also to let 'em commence more *certain Rules*

(14) *Bucan. Instit. Theolog. de Lege Loc. 19. c. 11.*

for the future to frame their Behaviour by. But notwithstanding this *promulgation*, they do not cease to be, nor are they *less the Laws of Nature* inspired into the Soul from the very beginning, yet this Solemnity from Mount *Sinai* restores and improves them; and it is to let the World know that under what Name soever they place 'em, they are to be held Divine.

B. I am satisfied, be pleas'd to go on.

A. The notion of such a *Law* then, I take to be this. That the *Matter* of it is discovered by the light of *Reason*; That it is *always* binding, *Universally own'd*, and there is no exception or *excuse* for not observing it. The *Subject* of it is *good* or *evil* in it self without the impression of any *positive Precept* whether Divine or Humane; and the *one Law* and the *other* differ in this, That the *positive Law* proceeds from the *Reason* and *Will* of our Governors, and the *matter* of it is *good*, because *commanded*, or *evil* because *forbidden*; whereas the *Moral Law* depends on *natural impressions*, and was not made for *certain Times, Places* or *Persons*, but *was* and *is* to be for ever; and is not *good* or *bad*, because made so by any *after-Law*, but *before* any such *Law* was made, 'twas so by *Nature*. As for Example, *To worship God*; *To forbear taking his Name in vain*; *To honour Father and Mother*; *Nor to Kill, Steal, commit Adultery, bear False Witness, Covet, &c.* These were *Duties* well known *before* the Revelation of Scripture, or *before* there was any *Law* to mention or inforce 'em. And tho' we Read, that Men did sometimes worship Idols and Images, yet that this was contrary to the better Reason of the Heathen-World, we have in the Confessions of *Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Chrysippus*

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Chrysippus and others who laugh at the folly of their Countrymen in that kind of Service, tho' they had in those days the *Roman* Refuge; That they did not adore the *Image* it self, but *this* or *that* *God* lodged in it. Now because these and the like Doctrines were (15) generally received all over the Earth without any other Apostle or Teacher, than barely their own Understanding, therefore *such* *Laws* as these are called *Natural* and *Moral*, and they are in *all* *Places* and at *all* *Times* obliging.

But the *Law* concerning the *Sabbath* is not so; that is, It is not understood *necessary* by the light of *Nature*, that every *Seventh* *Day*, or every *Saturday* must be Dedicated to the Worship of *God*, rather than any other. For *several* *Nations* had their *several* *Days*, and *set-Times* for Devotion, some *one* *Day*, and some *another*, according to the appointment of their Superiours whether Religious or Civil. (16) The *Greeks* and *Romans* observed the *Eighth* or *Ninth*; The *Mexicans* the *Thirteenth*; and the *Seventh* or *Sabbath* was so appropriated to the *Jews*, that either by way of *Proverb* or *Sarcasm* they were called (17) *Seventh-day-Men*, as a note of distinction to make 'em known from

(15) *Jus naturale est illud quod ex ipsius naturæ institutione provenit, & hoc est omnibus commune.* Alphon. de Castro de leg.—The Rabbins call these Laws *Præcepta intellectiva* & manifestissima apud omnes gentes. Παύλαχ' τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, Arist. Ethic. It is κοινὸς νόμος καὶ ἀνθρώποις. *Jus naturale est commune omnium nationum*—Isidore & Gratian. Vid. Pet. Gelat. de Arcan. Cath. Ver. l. 11. c. 10. Last. de ver. Sap. l. 4. c. 2. Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. (16) *Satis liquet dierum sive 9. sive 8. non septim. periodi usum fuisse veteribus Romanis.* Selden de jure Nat. (17) *Septimi viri, Sabbatarii Quasi à connotato proprio,* Abulenf. in Exod.

other People; and their Worship (18) *Septima Sacra*, as peculiar to that Nation, and which the *Chaldeans* derided them for, † they mocked at their *Sabbaths*, or they scoffed at their religious observation of the *Seventh-day*, as many (19) other Heathen Writers did; among whom (20) *Seneca* wondred that they could spend the seventh part of their time in idleness, and doing nothing as he thought; Which shows that appointments of this nature are of positive Religion; and tho' the *Worship* it self is *Moral*, the *Time* is not, nor was ever look'd on as such by the several Countries of the World, which yet had all of 'em their set, tho' different *Days* and *Hours* for their publick devotions. So that we may well look upon the *Institution*, *Rule* and *Reason* of the *Sabbath* to be purely from the Authority of *Scripture*. There it had its rise and force; There 'tis made a *Day* for holy performances; There 'tis a sign between God and his People the *Jews*, a peculiar sign to them, not heard or minded by others unless on their account; and as it is supposed, not observed by the *Patriarchs* themselves before the Age of *Moses*. And therefore it must follow, that the *Law* of the *Sabbath*, being only positive, and consequently temporary (as most of the *Laws* of *Moses* were) it might be safely laid aside with all other *Types* when the fulness of time was come: No *Law* of his being to be accounted perpetual, but what is in it self simply *Moral*. But tho' we deal with this Feast as a *Figure* of

(18) Ovid de Arte Amandi. (†) Lament. 1. 7.

(19) *Septima quæque Lux ignava fuit.* Juvenal. Satyr 14.

(20) *Augustin.* de Civ. Dei. l. 6. c. 11.

something to come, (21) and thereupon to cease in the presence of *Christianity* of which it was the *Type*, yet we have still a respectful Eye to the *Fourth* Commandment: And notwithstanding the *repeal* of the *Ceremonial* and *positive* part of the *Day*, we retain it hitherto in its *natural Equity*. Because we do and must think it highly *reasonable* to *consecrate* or set apart *some Days* for God's Service, that so he may be prevail'd on to assist and bless us in all our honest undertakings on the rest allotted for our selves, and wherein we consult our present necessities. This is *naturally just* and needful, and has been thought so all over the Earth, tho' particular Nations have varied, as you heard, in the time, according to their own convenience and discretion. And we do also consider it very fit to appoint *one Day of Seven* for this Service; not out of any Superstitious conceit of that *Climacterical* Number, but in conformity to the blessed *Example* of God himself who *rested* on such a Day. *This Day* therefore we judge *convenient*, tho' not so *necessary*, as to admit no *alteration*. For that God, on this Day, rested from all his Labours, we have it by *special Revelation*, and discovered but to a few of the World, and on that account cannot be reputed *moral* and *unchangeable*, because not *universally* received and known. 'Tis true, it carried a great Authority with it as to the People of the *Jews*, to whom it was made a Reason, why *they* should rest the *Seventh-day* from their Works, because on a *Seventh-day* God rested

(21) Ελθόντ' δὲ τῶ διδασκάλῳ κατηγγύθη ὁ Πιδαίωγος, καὶ ἡλίκ' ἀναείλαντ' ὁ λύχνος ἐπάνω τοῦ.
Athan. de sem. Ursin Car. de Sab.

from *His*. But tho' it was a Reason in the Commandment, the *Reason* was not so necessary, as *Obedience* to the Commandment was, because if so, how came it about that it made so little impression on the *Fathers* before the Law, who could not be strangers to the account of the Creation, yet did not hold themselves obliged (as we can learn) to the *Seventh-day*, 'tho without doubt they were by the Law of Nature bound to some *certain Times* for holy Performances. And if this reason did not sway the *Jews* but with respect to the *Precept* which contains it, and *his* Authority who made it a *Law*, much less can it be said to affect us either with respect to the *Day* it self, or the *Weekly* return of it. And yet we do accept it rather than the *8th*, *9th* or *10th*, because we have in holy Writ the example of God who finished the Creation at the end of the Sixth-day, and rested the *Seventh-day*, and by that rest sanctified and blest it.

This will help to explain our Churches practice in still reading the *Fourth* Commandment, and making it a part of our *Weekly Office*. She considers it in its *Natural Justice*, and thereby puts us in mind, how *decent* and *righteous* it is to allot *Days* for the Worship of God, and particularly *One in Seven*, yet without any regard to the *Jewish* Oeconomy, but having an Eye to the common reason both to them and us; viz. the Example of the Creator, who on the *Seventh-day* rested from all his Labours. And in this sense it is, that the reading of the Precept is as requisite on *other Holidays*, as on the *Lords-day* it self, To remember us on all occasions when Service is performed, that we ought to allow and observe *such Times*, and not be so intent on our ordinary Business as to forget our great

great Work which concerns our Soul, and the Maker's honour. A thing we are too often guilty of, and therefore stand in need of frequent *Memento's* to keep us within compass.

And this peradventure was the reason why God was pleased to place *this Precept* among the Commandments absolutely *moral* (tho' it self be not so,) because of the hard hearts of the *Jews* who were a stubborn disobedient People, and with great difficulty to be brought from *Earthly Things* to *Divine*; and therefore this Commandment was often repeated to 'em, and the transgression of it punished with the greater severity, that they might be sure to do him that homage which otherwise had been neglected: And by that Emphasis *remember* which ushers in the Law, impresse such a Character of it in their Hearts, as *Nature* had done of the other *Nine*. And in reality the loudness of the caution [*Remember the Sabbath-day,*] doth not a little insinuate, that *this Precept* had not naturally the same force and dignity with the *others*. However that for a time it might be so to them, it was Prefaced with a *remember*, &c. and had the same Sanction or Penalty to support it, as *those* against *Murther, Theft, Adultery* and *Atheism*.

And if this were not the meaning of that Commandment under Christianity, and that it binds us in the *Equity* only and not in the *Letter*, it had been very dangerous for our Forefathers and for us to *alter the Sabbath-day*. And equally perilous would it be to *ride on Horse-back* or in a Coach, *dress Meat*, or do many other things which undoubtedly we have liberty now to do without the breach of our *Sabbath*. And this we owe to our Gracious Redeemer who is the
Lord

Lord of the Sabbath, the *body* and *substance* of all those legal *Ceremonies* which at his coming were to vanish away. Yet tho' we annul those Observances as to the intolerable burden of 'em, we still continue their *moral*; and because it is our duty to adore God, we accept the *equitable* part of the *Sabbath* to do this Duty in. And that we may discharge our selves the better in this great Affair, as soon as we hear the Commandment read, there immediately follows this short Petition, *Lord, have mercy on us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law---*to keep it, not *literally* with the *Jew*, but in that common *Equity* which reaches us and all Nations whatever. And in more words our meaning runs thus, (22) That God would be pleased at these *set Times* dedicated to him, to send his grace into our hearts to over-rule and soften 'em, that while we pretend to worship him, we do it as we ought; and as at *all times*, so more especially in *these*, behave our selves holy and blameless before him.

And as it is of ordinary Justice, and by the instinct of Natural Religion, that God should have some *Stated-times* for his Glory and Service; And as *One Day in Seven* was pitch'd on, partly in veneration to God's Example, and partly to let the *Jews* and the World see, that our *Christianity* has not impaired the Divine Worship: So, tho' we change the *Numerical Day* observed by the *Jews* as a testimony of our Liberty, we have made the *first Day of the Week* the eminent Day to express our acknowledgements in, because on *this Day* fell out a remarkable Blessing, which the *Sabbath* of the *Jews*,

(22) Bishop Sanderson's Case of the Sabbath.

and

and their *Deliverance* out of Egyptian Bondage was the *Emblem* of, I mean our *Redemption* by Christ, who, to prove the Victory he had got over *Death* and *Sin*, return'd *this Day* from the Grave.

That *such Deliverance* was the occasion of their *Sabbath*, is clear from *Deut. c. v. 15*. And therefore the substituting of this Holy-day, as it justifies our Change upon a stronger Motive than what the *Jews* had to keep it, so it shows we could not assign a more proper Day of the Week to glorifie God in, who has been more gracious to us than he had been to those before us. Well then might *that Day* which remembered only a *Civil Ransom*, resign all its *Sanctity* and *Solemnity* to *this other* whereon our *Lord and Saviour* arose from the Dead, and by that *rising* wrought a more excellent, an *Eternal Redemption* for us. So that you see from what has been said, how proper the distinction is which your Minister used. For as the *Fourth Commandment* is not altogether *Ceremonial* on the one side, so neither on the other side is it *wholly Moral*; but there being in it (23) a *mixture* of both, we partly retain and partly explode it. The *Moral* of it continues, and will continue for ever, because to worship God is of the Law of Nature, and if God had never required it in the other Law, we must have done him Service at some certain times, because reason will have it so. But for the *Seventh-day* which the *Jews* observed, and the other Circumstances that make up the Commandment, *these* we lay by as *positive Points*, which oblige no longer than the Law-giver design'd they should, and that was until Christ's coming;

(23) *Aqui. 22. de Qu. 122. Art. 4. ad 1.*

and to keep 'em now, is much the same as to say He is not come. Yet as a thing of *Choice* we have a *Seventh-day*, and we make it the *Day* of our meeting in publick to make solemn Profession of our Religion. But this we do without consulting the *Jews*, or considering it a *Sign* between *God* and *them*, but respect it as the *Day* of *Christ's Resurrection*, which happening on that *Seventh-day* we now keep, we do and shall ever observe it as the *memorial* of that Blessing.

B. Your Discourse much agrees with what the Minister said. But pray give me leave to except against some particulars; as when you say, the *Patriarchs* before *Moses* did not observe the *Sabbath*, and the *Seventh-day* was so peculiar to the *Jews*, that no Nation else regarded and hardly knew it. Somewhat to this purpose the Preacher affirmed, which made me next Morning to examine some few Authors which my Common-place Book directed me to, to see what account they could give of the Question about these two Points; Because if true, That neither the *Fathers* between the *Creation* and *Moses*, nor the *Gentiles* took notice of the *Seventh-day Festival*, this would much weaken the *Morality* of the *Sabbath*, and make us no otherwise receive it than a bare *Law of Moses*, which with his other Ordinances Religious or Civil, were upon the Coming of Christ to be done away; but inquiring into the Matter I do not find it so.

And first for the *Patriarchs*,

(24) *Tertullian* then represents it a current Doctrine among the *Jews*, that God from the beginning sanctified the *Seventh-day* by resting from his Works. And thence it was that Mo-

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ses said unto the People Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Again, (25) Christ saith he, then fulfilled the Law, when the Sabbath, which his Father made holy by his blessing, he made more holy by his own. — So that in both places Tertullian allows the Day to be no sooner made, than that it was sanctified or sequestred to an holy purpose. Augustin saith the same thing, as a Tenet among the Jews; and in a Letter to Casulanus, avouches it as his own Opinion, that as God rested the Seventh-day from all his works, so he commanded the Hebrews to take care to observe it. That the Jews own it so appears from R. Juda and R. Solomon Farchi, who cite Simpson, Aben Ezra, D. Kimchi, Manasseh-ben-Israel, and more of the like Authorities. And we may observe in the Chaldee Paraphrase or Targum of Jonathan, who is supposed to live about half a Century before Christ, that they carried the Tradition as high as Adam; for on the 1st Chapter of the Book of Canticles there is mention of Adam's singing a Psalm on the Sabbath. And the Title of the 92d Psalm is, a Psalm or Song which Adam said on the Sabbath-day; or (as Dr. Lightfoot saith) which he made for the Sabbath. Philo and Josephus both subscribe to this. For the (26) former saith, the Sabbath had a Privilege by Nature from the very time the World began; and therefore Moses thought it reasonable that all his People following the Law of Nature should celebrate this Day---meaning by the Law of Nature, the early institution of it, which was as old as Nature her self. And as for Josephus, he tells us, that God having rested from all his works on the Seventh-day, on that account the Jews kept the Day by a cessation of all Business,

(25) Adv. Marcion. (26) De vis. Mosis,

and called it the Sabbath. (27) Theophilus Antiochenus saith, that God on the 7th Day finished all the works that he had made, and thereupon blest and sanctified it--And adds, that the Seventh-day was famous among all People, the Hebrews calling it Sabbath, and the Greeks the Seventh-day, because they were not acquainted with the reason of the Name, i. e. the rest of God on that Day, which occasion'd him to pronounce it holy. (28) Cyprian confesses that the number Seven was made Sacred by the order observed in Creating the World, because in six Days he did all his works, and the seventh he dedicated to rest, as a Day holy in it self, and making other things holy, honour'd by a cessation from all business, and assign'd to the B. Spirit, the Sanctifier. (29) Of the same mind is Lactantius, That God finish'd this admirable work of Nature in the space of 6 Days, and the 7th whereon he rested, he decreed it holy, and this is the Sabbath. (30) Athanasius saith, That when God had perfected the first Creation he gave himself to rest, and on this reason the Men of that Generation kept the Sabbath or 7th Day: By which word [Generation] he intends all that space of time from the Creation to Christ, and during all that time they kept the Sabbath. Behold, (31) saith Greg. Nyssene, a Sabbath blessed from the infancy of the World. By that Sabbath take an estimate of this; a Day of rest which God hath blessed above all other Days whatever. God blessed and sanctified that Day, (32) saith Chrysostom what means that word [Sanctified] why, it distinguishes it from other Days. And then subjoining the reason, He did this to the Seventh-day, because on it he rested from his

(27) Ad Autolychem. (28) De Sp. Sancto. (29) De div. Iram. l. 7. c. 14. (30) De Sab. & Circ. (31) De Resur. Christi. (32) Homil. 10. in Genes.

works ; insinuating this Doctrine from the very beginning, that in the compass of a Week we should set a-part one whole Day, and spend it in Religion. Instead of making the Seventh-day remarkable by any instance of Creation, he made it most remarkable by bestowing his blessing on it, saith (33) Theodoret, that it might not be the only Day without special honour ; and 'tis said he did not barely distinguish, but sanctifie it--And adds, In blessing the 7th Day in that manner, he shew'd it was not to be thought a vain and unprofitable Day, for by his own appointment it was accommodated to rest. And then asking the Question, (34) why God did not command the Sabbath to be kept as well on some other day ? he answers, Because the God of all things Created the Universe in 6 Days, but did nothing on the 7th, and therefore dignified it with a special benediction, as it is recorded, in six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and rested the 7th Day, &c. And Celsus demanding Whether God was weary that he needed rest, (35) Origen replies, that God rested to the intent, that We resting from our works should celebrate that Day. By all which it doth appear, that from the very Creation this Day was set a-part for Rest and Holiness ; both from Gods Example, and his solemn Act of Blessing it. And to this Alexander Hales and other School-Men subscribe ; and A Lapid among the Jesuits, with an infinite number of Authors of all Perswasions, both Foreigners and English, who conclude as I do, That the Sabbath was observed before the times of Moses. And among these, that Remark of Zanchy is not to be omitted : (36) The word Remember, saith he, points back-

(33) Quæst. in Exod. (34) Qu. in Gen. (35) l. 6.
(36) In quart. Præcept.

wards to the Generations foregoing, and puts them in mind, that this Precept sets forth no new Duty, but what was observed ever since the making of the World. So that tho' Moses put it into the Body of his Laws, and made the observation of it very rigorous, and the neglect more severely punishable than in former Ages, yet still it was kept by the Patriarchs and others from the very beginning; which overthrows the notion of that low date, some are apt to give it, to strengthen the Argument against its morality.

Then as to the Second Thing, the Gentiles.

That the Seventh-day was neglected by 'em, is so far from being true, that they not only knew, but own'd and celebrated it, as we find in their own Writings, wherein they mention and speak honourably of it. This (37) Homer doth, and Hesiod and Callimachus, as we may see in their Verses, in which they call it an Holiday, a perfect day, and whereon all things were made: so exactly correspondent to the Character we have of it in the Book of Sacred Scripture. And not only the Poets, but (38) Clemens of Alexandria informs us, that Solon had a great veneration for it. And hence probably arose that conceit of the Pythagoreans about the number Seven which they stiled the Virgin, holy and venerable, most agreeable to God and things

- (37) Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἤπειτα κατήλυθεν ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ.
 Ἑβδομον ἡμᾶρ ἔην καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο πάντα.
 Ἑβδόμη ἦν ἱερή.
 Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἧοι λέπομεν ῥοσφῆξ Ἀχέροντος.
 Καὶ Ἑβδομον ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ.
 Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' αὖτις λαμπρὸν φαῖνετο ἡελίοιο.
 Ἑβδομη ἐν ἀγαθοῖσι καὶ Ἑβδομη ἐστὶ γένεθλη.
 Ἑβδομη ἐν πρώτοις καὶ Ἑβδομη ἐστὶ τέλειη.
 Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡ τετελεσμένα πάντα τέτυκται.
 Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἧοι τέτοκοντα πάντα.

(38) Stromat. l. 5.

Divine;

Divine; upon which account the Greek word *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*, was by the Ancients called *οὐρανία* [*and οὐρανία*,] from *Worship*; the *Seventh* being the *Day* whereon *God* is more solemnly adored; for so the *aspirate*, as *Priscian* observes, is very frequently turned into *σ* or *ς*, of which we might afford you many Examples. We further read what *Lampridius* saith of *Alexander Severus*, That on the 7th *Day* he resorted to the *Temple*, as looking on it without doubt a very solemn time dedicated to Religion. So that upon the whole, it was not very bold in (39) *Josephus* to assert, That there were no Nations, Greek or Barbarous, but what respected this *Day*; which jumps with what *Philo* saith, who calls it *ἑορτήν πάντων*, the general Festival of the World; Holy to the Greeks as well as Hebrews, as *Clemens* speaks, (40) and which all Mankind Celebrate with Decency and Honour. And *Philoponus*, by way of reason for this universal consent, adds, That all agree in this, That the constant revolution of seven Days constitutes all time: And if the Greeks assign'd these Days to the Seven Planets, it was because they knew not the real occasion of that number set down by *Moses* concerning Gods working on the Six and resting on the Seventh-day; which had they understood, the consent might have been greater between the Jews and them. Thus far I go; but those who are better read may offer more Authorities of this kind, to prove, That both the Patriarchs and Gentiles had the knowledge of this Festival, which is what you and the Preacher seem to deny. If I am under any mistake, as to the sense of what I produced, pray set me right, and to that end I shall now desire your answer.

(39) Adv. Apion. (40) Steuchius in Gen,

A. To deal roundly and sincerely with you, I must say, that the *Testimonies* you name, have not, to my thinking, that strength you suppose, to convince me or any body else, That the *Patriarchs* or *Heathens* had any respect for the *Sabbath-day*. And 1st. For the *Patriarchs* and those *Authors* you produce to make it credible that the *Ancients* before *Moses*, knew and observ'd it. They say, That *on the Seventh Day God ended his work, and rested the Seventh Day from all his works which he made; and God blessed the Seventh Day and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.*—No body denies this, because *Moses* saith it, *Gen. ii. 2, 3.* But what is this to the *Patriarchs* before *Moses*? what Scripture elder than the Law, gives us any account of that matter? and where were the *Fathers* commanded to keep the Day, and does any one Text say they kept it? (41) *Zanchius*, one of your Witnesses, confesses, that tho' he will not go about to contradict the Opinion, yet it cannot be easily proved out of the *Sacred Writings*. And so *Hospinian*, a diligent Searcher into the Antiquity and Reason of all *Festivals*, declares, that the *Patriarchs* observing the *Sabbath*, is not to be made good by the word of God---and that surely ought to be done to give it the credit of a *Constitution*.

But what if in reality, there was no such distinction of Days at the Creation, tho' *Moses* makes it to comply with the capacities of the People, and inable 'em to distinguish into parts, what *Siracides* testifies was done at (42) *Once. He that liveth for ever Created all things together.* It was *Moses's* usual way to speak of things,

(41) In quart. Præcept. Ecclu. 16. 1.

(42) Simul. Vulg. Lat.

[*more humano,*] not as they *really* are, but as the *Vulgar* understand 'em; as when he calls the *Moon* one of the *two great Lights*, because she seems to an ordinary Eye bigger than the other Stars, which yet in bulk and compass far exceed her. And so God is said to *rest*, which is a word applicable only to *Men* and other *Animals*; who after they have labour'd *Six Days*, take the benefit of the *Seventh* to refresh and ease themselves. But it would be absurd to imagine that any such (43) weariness could touch God on the account of those Works he did. Yet in this allusion 'tis significant enough; and God may be thought to *rest*, when he only *forbears* doing what he was before *employ'd* in. Besides, it would reflect on the notion we ought to have of the infinite Wisdom and Power of God, to think he needed so many Days to produce the works of Nature, when the first Chapter of *Genesis* represents all done with a bare *fiat*, and *his willing* this or that thing to be done, was sufficient of it self to give it being. (44) *He spake the word and they were made, he commanded and they were created.* (45) Yet it was convenient for the H. Pen-man to describe the Creation by these *distinctions and steps*, that we might better comprehend the *Order* of what his Almighty word did *in an instant*; because otherwise had they been all set before us (46) *in common*, as the Son of *Sirach* speaks, That which the Creator did in a few moments by a most compendious and exquisite method, according to the Eternal *Ideas* in his mind, would to us have seem'd *confusion*; neither had we so well

(43) *Nec cum creavit defessus, nec cum cessavit refectus.*
Aug. in Gen. ad lit. (44) Ps. 33. 9. & 148. 5.

(45) *Plures dies numerantur propter plura rerum genera—*
Aqui. (46) *Ἐν κοινῇ πύσσει.*

known the dignity of the Creatures, and how the Maker was pleas'd to prefer the existence of *one* before *another*.

The likelihood of this further shows it self, from the description given of the *three first days*, as well as of the rest, *the evening and the morning were the first day, &c.* Whereas it is evident the *Sun* was not made 'till the *fourth day*, whose revolution and motion *divides Time*, and makes *Days and Years*; and when the *Sun* sets, 'tis *Evening*, and when he rises 'tis *Morning*. And so 'tis expressly said, that as soon as the *Sun, Moon, &c.* were Created, God set 'em in the *firmament of Heaven* to give *Light on the Earth*, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from darkness. To say that God appointed a bright Cloud, or some miraculous light to shine in the Day, the retiring of which caused *Darkness*; Or, (47) as *St. Basil* saith, that the *Days and Nights* proceeded from the *emission and retraction* of *Light*, and not by the *motion* of the *Heavenly Bodies*, is very unreasonable, when we find he was ordering and settling the *course of Nature*. Or to conceit he made *one Light* the first Day, and a better on the fourth; Or that he contracted the first *Light* into the *Body of the Sun, Moon and Stars* and the like, is not this a reflection on his *Almighty and most wise* contrivance, to undo thus his first *Days work*, and render it *vain*, by altering or making it better?

I am not alone in this conjecture. For you heard before what *Siracides* said. Whose (48) Book, tho' it be not of that Credit with us, as among other Churches abroad where it is ad-

(47) Tho. p. 1. q. 67. Art. 4. ad tertiam.

(48) Dr. Reynolds. cens. de lib. Apocr.

mitted into the Canon of Scripture, yet surely it calls for as great veneration as any common Authority, and deserves as much honour, if not more than any Writing whatever, below what is confessedly Sacred, and dictated by the B. Spirit. *He that liveth for ever hath Created all things* [*κοινῇ* saith the Greek, *simul* the Latin] in common, in gross, at once and altogether. (49) So Philo the Learned Jew understands that place, and calls it silly to think that the World was made in the compass of six Days. And St. Augustine, a Man of excellent insight into the sence of Scripture, is of the same Opinion, and saith that there was but one time (you may call it Day) wherein God produced the World, tho' it be repeated (50) six or seven times to discern the works of the Creation, and by those imaginary intervals or spaces to distinguish them the better. All which works being finished, God is said to rest, because then he had nothing more to do, but by his ordinary Providence to conserve those Species to which he had given a Being. And whereas it is often said by Moses the Evening and the Morning were the first Day, the second Day, and so on, his language is suited to the division of that time in which the Creation was carried on, yet means no more (as that Father conceives) than that the Ending of one piece of his Work may be called (51) Evening, and the Beginning of another Morning, which being dispatched, produced as it were another Evening, and so a third till all the Creatures were made. And because nothing remain'd to

(49) Ἐνθὲς πάνυ τὸ ὁρᾶται ἐξ ἡμετέρας κόσμον γεγονέναι.
l. Alleg. (50) In septimo die, i. e. eodem septies repetito.
de Civ. Dei, l. xi. c. 31. Significat omnia simul fuisse
creata, saith Ludovicus Vives on that of St. Aug. Vid. August.
in Gen. ad lit. l. i. c. 7. (51) Aug. in Gen. l. 4. c. 8.

be done after the last Creature *Man*, therefore God *rested* in that he went no further. (52) Or more mysteriously by *Morning and Evening* (which he applies to every work of the Creation) he understands the *two* sorts of knowledge we have of things. The *One* in the *essence* of God wherein the *Angels* discover all *ideas* distinctly and clearly as by *Morning-light*, and thus we shall see hereafter when we arrive at their Condition; The *other* more obscurely, as in the *Evening*, from the *natures* of the things themselves, which we get with more difficulty and labour, and after all our pains may be mistaken, according to that of St. Paul, *now we see thro' a glass darkly* [or in a riddle] *but then face to face: now I know in part, but then I shall know even as also I am known.* Thus St. Augustine; and if he guesses right, it is no wonder that the Ages before *Moses* give us not a word of Gods *six days work*, and his *resting on the seventh day*, seeing the time allotted the Creation will not admit that distinction; yet the Prophet used it, that by this means we might better discover, as I said, how God digested all the Creatures which he produced in a moment by his irresistible power.

But take the literal interpretation, which in duty to Scripture I adhere to, that God was pleas'd to allow himself *Days* for the doing of that which he could have done as well in a *moment*; yet how does it appear that God *rested on the seventh Day*? (53) St. Jerom will have it, that the *Woman* was made on the *Seventh day*; and for the probability of it, *Steuchius* tells us, that at the conclusion of the *Sixth day* the Crea-

(52) *Vid.* Coquæum in Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. xi. c. 7, 9.

(53) Adv. Jud.

tures were brought unto *Adam* to be named; which was a work of no little time, and being at length wearied with it, he fell into a sound Sleep, and on the *Seventh-day morning* God took out his *Rib* and formed it into a *Woman*. And if so, the (54) whole *Seventh day* was not spent in rest; nor indeed doth the Text affirm it, because in saying that God finished his work on that Day, it is implied, that part of the work was done on it; which the (55) Seventy Interpreters, with the *Syriac* and *Samaritan* Translators perceiving, they thought it the best way to read it thus, *He ended his work on the sixth Day*. So that (56) *St. Jerom* observing this difference between the *Greek* and the *Hebrew*, he fastens on it to expose the rigorous *Sabbatizing* of the *Jews*, who pretended to rest in imitation of God, and yet God himself did not so strictly rest, as to give them an Example to keep the *Sabbath* in that manner.

Yet granting this too, Gods rest could only be from the works of the *Creation* without any addition or increase of new Species, yet his business of *Providence* still went on, and as (†) *Origen* speaks, we may see God every day and every *Sabbath-day* working, in making his *Sun* to shine, and his rain to descend upon us. So that as (57) *St. Augustine* tells the *Manichee*, the *Jews* needed not to have been affronted when *Christ* told 'em my Father hitherto worketh, seeing he hath now as much care and labour upon him to

(54) *Dies tota non fuit quiete transacta, sed perfecto opere ejus deinceps quievit ut Hebraeus contextus habet. Steuch. in Gen.* (55) *Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐκτῇ. Et hoc est unum de verbis quae mutaverunt Sapientes Ptolemao regi. Galat. l. xi. c. 10.* (56) *Qu. Heb. in Gen.* (†) *Orig in Num.* (57) *Adv. Faustum.*

preserve the course of Nature, as it cost him at the first to put it in motion.

But to proceed yet further; suppose God took up *six Days* in making the Universe, and *rested the seventh*, and thereupon *blest and sanctified it*, yet perhaps it is not so easie to show what date these words bear, and *when* the Institution commences. 'Tis evident *Moses* writ the Book of *Genesis*, as well as the *Decalogue* or two Tables of the Law; and in *both places* he uses the same expression of *Gods resting and sanctifying the Seventh Day*; but it does not appear how he had this account of what was done at the Creation, whether by *immediate revelation* of the Spirit at the very time he was penning that Sacred History, or by *Tradition* from *Adam*, or some other of the *Patriarchs* before him. If the *former*, and that the discovery was first made to him, then the Fathers are excused for not putting in practice an *Institution* they knew nothing of, and which did not *begin* till they were laid in their graves. If the *latter*, that this account came by *Tradition*, does it not seem strange that *Moses* who made the observation of the *Sabbath* into so strict a Law, and inserted a reason to strengthen it from the example of God who *rested, blest and sanctified it*, should give no (58) footstep of this in all the Book of *Genesis*, wherein he presents us with the occurrences of above 2000 years, and yet not one word of the *Sabbath*. Most likely then it is, that there was no such thing known before the times of *Moses*. But if known, it made no figure, much less had it the force of a *Constitution*, or became practicable till the *Jews* grew into a *Politick Body*, and had all sorts of

(58) Curcellæus Instit. l. iv. c. 11.

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Statutes and Ordinances Sacred and Civil to guide and govern them by; and then *this* among other things commencing a *Law*, to make it, if possible, more solemn and binding, there was set before 'em *the rest of God, &c.* that so the *Divine Example*, as well as *Moses's Authority*, might influence them to celebrate *that Day* which God himself was pleas'd to observe as soon as the Creation was over. And as soon as they had all the instances of Worship prescrib'd 'em, then they had also a *Day* set 'em to do that Worship in, a Day originally sanctified by the *rest of God*, and by a *Sacred Decree* that it should be observed by all his Servants when the *Time* came wherein they appear'd a very great *Nation*.

And until this time arriv'd, it is very observable from Scripture, that God gave 'em very few Precepts, but left 'em for the most part to *Natural Religion*, and as their *Reason* directed 'em. *Adam* had one only Commandment about the *Tree*; *Noah* Two, to forbear *Murder*, and to eat no blood; *Abraham* Three, To leave his *Country*, To walk before God (but how is not said, unless in what the light of *Nature* show'd him) and To circumcise himself and his *Family*. And, for the trial of his Obedience, To Sacrifice his *Son*. As to all other things, he and they were left to their own judgment, and they served God in such a manner as their understanding taught 'em. Thus we find *Cain and Abel* Sacrificing, but no mention of the time, nor any command of God to worship in such a way; (59) yet Reason suggested it as a proper instance of gratitude and homage to their divine

(59) *Hoc ratio naturalis dicitur ut de donis suis honoretur imprimis ille qui dedit.* Rupert in Gen. & Burgens.

Benefactor,

Benefactor, whereby they tender'd their *First-Fruits*, or some part of that Substance God had blest 'em with, and in that Act own their subjection to him after the example of *Tenants* who make Presents to their *Lords* to recognize and own their *Tenures*, and the dependance they have upon him. And being thus naturally taught, we find it the Doctrine and practice of all Ages, and in all Places; Accordingly *Porphyrus* informs us out of *Hermippus*, that one of the Laws made for the *Athenians* by *Triptolemus* was to Feast their Gods with Fruits. And *Draco* puts this among his Laws, to honour the Gods with *First-Fruits*. And *Plutarch* saith, that many of the *Grecians* in their ancient Sacrifices did use Barley, the *First-Fruits* being offered by the Citizens. So *Horace* tells us, that the ancient Husbandmen Sacrificed a Pork to *Vesta*, and Milk to *Sylvanus*. And *Ovid*, that They gave the First fruits of their Corn to *Ceres*, and Wine to *Bacchus*; which was also done to the *Hours*, *Diana*, *Appollo*, &c. as we see in *Meursius's Gr. Fer.* So that *Cain* and *Abel* did no more than what Nature directed all sorts of People; but that it was then done with little Solemnity, and perhaps without any certain Rule, partly appears from that of *Gen. iv. 6.* then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord---or about that time, People began to Pray, saith the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, (60) to Pray in common or by way of Congregation; publickly and by consent doing that which privately, and by Families, in a different manner and on different Days was done before. But no news of the Sabbath, tho' here was a good Op-

(60) *Tunc cœptum est populariter coli Deus. Maria. Invo-care—i. e. Palam colere. Eman. Sa. Tunc cœptum publicè & per cœtus invocari. A Lap. Publickly, and in a numerous Assembly. Primeros in Sab. sic Perer. Junius, &c.*

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portunity for *Moses* to speak of that *solemn Time*, as well as of a more *solemn Worship* Men then exprest for the honour of God, the Generality of the World before this, giving themselves over to the adoration of the *Stars*, as the Hebrew Doctors report the state of that Generation. And tho' in these days *Noah* is said to be a zealous *Preacher of Righteousness*, yet we have no account of *set times* for his Sermons, but he took any opportunity fairly offer'd him to Convert and Edifie those who were to be improved by what he taught, without regard to any distinction of Days, as afterwards, of which in that Age there is a profound silence. And of him it is further to be noted, that he had no more than those *seven Precepts* which we have by Tradition, and which the *Rabbins* do say were given by God, first to *Adam* and then to *Noah*, as, *That they should worship one God, and abstain from Idolatry; That they should not take God's Name in vain; That they should not kill, Nor steal, Nor admit incestuous Marriages; that they should not eat blood, and That they should ordain Magistrates and Judges to punish such Offenders—* But as for remember to keep holy the *Sabbath*, not one tittle of it, notwithstanding that in after Ages *Moses* plac'd it within his two Tables; yet it was not it seems worthy that *Patriarchs* notice, tho' it cannot be reasonably expected that *He* or the *Rabbins* would have omitted it on such an Occasion, had there been so great a stress laid upon it, and that they were commanded to keep it holy. (61) On the contrary, *Maimonides* delivers himself thus. "The Men and Women-Servants who are com-
manded to keep the Sabbath, are Servants

(61) *Maimon. de Sab.*

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“ that are circumcised ; but Servants not circumcised nor baptized, but only such as have received the Seven Precepts given to the Sons of *Noah*, they are as sojourning Strangers, and may do works for themselves openly upon the Sabbath. Where we see he distinguishes between the condition of Religion under *Noah* and *Moses*; and tho’ the latter required the observation of the *Sabbath*, yet those who followed the way of *Noah* were not obliged to it, his Laws reaching no further than the Particulars before-named ; which infers, that *Noah* was a stranger to the *Sabbath*, or at least neglected it. Because otherwise, had it been an instance of Religion, so great and necessary, as some would have it, the People must have shew’d respect to *this* as well as to the rest of his Ordinances, and had kept the *Sabbath* whether *Circumcised* or no.

B. ’Tis much indeed *Noah* should be so very silent in this Point ; yet the observation of (62) *Hospinian*, touching what that Patriarch did, is very material ; and his sending out the *Dove* on the *seventh-day*, was (as *He* and *Simlerus* thinks) on the account of the *Sabbath*.

A. I must confess, (63) some suppose from hence, that *Noah* on that Day performed his most solemn Devotion to God with Prayers for good news to be brought him concerning the abatement of the Flood. But certainly (64) *Tostatus* better resolves it thus. That *Noah* by that means was desirous to learn whether the *Waters* decreased : For *Water* being a moist Body, it is influenced by the *Moon*, to whose motion the

(62) *In Historia Diluvij columba ex Arca emissa Septenario dierum intervallo ratione Sabbati videntur.* De Fest. Jud.
 (63) Assembly in loc. (64) Abulens. in Gen.

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Patriarch had a special regard at this time. Because, as She is either in *Opposition* or *Conjunction* with the *Sun* in her *increase* or *wane*, there is proportionably an *increase* or *decrease* of the Waters. So that *Noah* considering the *Moon* in her several *Quarters*, which you know consists of so many *seven days*, he sent forth the *Dove* to bring him tidings, and this he did for four times; and the 4th time the *Moon* being in her *last Quarter*, when by the ordinary course of *Nature* the Waters usually are, and by the will of God were then much abated; the *Dove* which was sent out had found footing on the Earth, and so returned to the Ark no more—And this is all can be drawn from that passage, which has more of *Philosophy* than (65) *Religion* in it.

B. You were speaking of *Cain* and *Abel*. It is said of them, that *in process of time* they brought their Offerings unto the Lord, so we render it, but in the Hebrew it is (66) *at the end of days*, which bespeaks a set time for Sacrifice, and in all likelihood the *Sabbath*. For as by *Days* are meant the *Days of the Week*, so the *end of those Days*, or the *last of 'em* may well signify that which concludes the Week, I mean the time consecrated to the service of the *Creator*. And of this mind are the *Assembly of Divines*, who conceive the Phrase intends the *Sabbath* as a Day specially sanctified from the beginning.

A. The words of those *Divines* are, “That by the end of Days may be meant the *Sabbath*—but they deliver themselves doubtfully, and therefore in the same place confess—” that

(65) *Quæ religio in ista actione apparet? Nonne potuit illud facere respectu cursus lunæ singulis septem diebus novam faciem nobis exhibentis, &c. Curcellæ. de esu sang. c. 6.*

(66) מִקֵּץ יָמִים, Gen. 4. 3.

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“ usually the words are taken for a distance of
 “ time of greater extent than the compass of a
 “ Week, yet it might be a certain time by custom
 “ or constitution; which now being compleat and
 “ run to a period, they both make their Oblations
 “ to God as followeth—Wherein we are agreed,
 that probably it might be some set time; But
 that it was the *Seventh-day*, or every *Seventh-*
day the expression does not prove it. The
 (67) Translations of greatest figure render it,
 after some days. A Lapide, after some years;
 (68) and St. *Ambrose* inclines that way, and
 on this account charges *Cain* with a double
 fault; one that he was so long before he came,
 the other that he did not offer the choicest of
 his Flock. Because that which recommends a
 Sacrifice is, To offer what we set a value on,
 and to do it quickly and without hesitation.
Mr. Ainsworth, a Person of good insight into
 Hebrew idioms, turns it at the end of the Year,
 at which time it was customary among many
 Nations in most solemn manner to Sacrifice
 unto God, and give him thanks for blessing
 the Fruits which they had gather'd in. So
 the Law of *Moses* commanded; and
 thence was the [*Festum Messis*, or *Fe-*
stum Collectæ,] the Harvest Feast among the
Jews; an Order, as by this instance ap-
 peareth, observed by the Patriarchs from
 the very beginning; and the usage at last
 prevail'd with the *Gentiles*; the Ancient Sacrifi-

(67) The Targ. of *Onkelos*, the Samaritan and Syriac
 say post aliquot dies. The Arabick, cum aliquot dies præ-
 teriissent. *Junius* and *Tremellius* refer to St. *Mark's* δι-
 ημέρων, c. 21. The 70 μὲν ἡμέρας. (68) L. I. c. 7.
 de *Cain*—

ces, (69) saith Aristotle, and Assemblies to that end being after the gathering in of the Fruits. For further confirmation of this, he shows us, that very frequently in Scripture, Years go by the name of Days, and a full Year is called a Year of Days. So that the sence is, That at a certain Time about the end of the Year, Cain and Abel, according to the Instructions they had from their Father, brought their Offerings, as their acknowledgments of the Divine Goodness in blessing and increasing their Flocks and Fruits. But to say that this was on the Seventh-day or Sabbath, tho' it were so, yet to be sure this Text doth not much contribute to prove it, and therefore I wonder to find it insisted on.

Levit. 25. 29, 30.
1 Sam. 1. 20.
Exod. 34. 22.
Numb. 9. 22.
Amos 4. 4.
Deut. 14. 28.
Exod. 13. 10.
1 Sam. 1. 3.

B. I cannot deny but the word [*Days*] very often signifies *Years*, as soon as that way of computation by *Years* began; but I am persuaded, that in the *Infancy* of the World they reckon'd only by *Weeks*, or a *septenary* revolution of Days according to the Rule God himself set 'em, Gen. 2. on the seventh day God rested, &c. making thereby every seventh day a full period. So that as I said before, the end of days might be well construed into the Sabbath, or that *Holiday* which concluded the Week, and on which it is probable Cain and Abel made their Oblations. And according to this way of account, we find, that when Jacob took it ill, that after seven years Service Laban should so impose on him as to give him Leah instead of Rachel, Laban pacifies him with this Promise, that if he would be content to fulfill Leah's-

(69) Ethic. l. 6.

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Week, or proceed to consummate the 1st Marriage by continuing the Wedding-feast, and Bedding *Leah* for the term of a Seven-night according to custom, that then he should have *Rachel* likewise; conditionally that he served him *seven years* longer. *Fulfill her Week and we will give thee this also. And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her Week, and he gave him Rachel, Gen. xxix. 27.*

A. If by *Week* you mean a constant revolution and return of 7 days, which ended make that period of time we call by this name, 'twill be hard to show, that the Patriarchs distinguished the year in that manner, but rather divided it by *Months* and *Days*. But if by *Week* you understand the term of *seven days* as a proportion of time observed for the celebration of *Nuptials*, we will not quarrel with you about a word wherein Translators anticipate, and which they borrow from *after Ages* to represent the same number of days *our Week* consists of, tho' then among them there was no such notion. Plain it is that the custom (70) of the *Jews* called for as many days as make the *Week* at present, to solemnize a Wedding in; and if a Man married a *Maid*, seven were spent in Mirth and Feasting, but if a *Widow* three. And so by way of explanation the *Syriac* saith, *fulfill her Feast*. But *Junius* and *Tremellius* more fully, *suffer the seven days feast, now begun, to be fulfilled by accompanying Leah, and after that thou shalt have her also whom thou desirest*. This is confirmed by what *Sampson* proposed to his Bride-Men; *I will, saith he, put forth a Riddle to you, if you can certainly declare it to me within the seven days of the Feast, Judg. xiv. 12.* This was agree-

(70) *Maimonid. Treat. of Wives. c.x. Sect. 12, 13.*

able to the practice of all Nations; which at their *Marriages, Births and Burials* have set apart certain times to express their joy or grief in, and that for a longer or shorter date as the Occasion and Country required. Heretofore, saith A Lapidé, Seven Days were allotted to consummate a Marriage, as now three; yet the Hebrew saith no more than *שבע* Seven; and upon the uncertainty of what that Seven signifies, whether Days or Years, Interpreters differ. (71) For Josephus affirms it to be seven Years between the two Marriages; and when the other seven Years were expired he Married Rachel. And if he be in the right, (who was a very Learned Jew, and well versed in the Language and Customs of his Country) then there is not in this Scripture the least shadow of a Weekly period, such as is meant in the Question. But I must own I dissent from Josephus in this Particular; and, (72) with St. Augustine, think it very unjust to put off Jacob seven years longer; and therefore Laban must be rather understood, that he would perswade his Son-in-Law to have patience only for seven days to finish the other Marriage, and then he should be sure to have her Sister. The Original indeed with the Targum of Onkelos, the Samaritan and Arabick Versions say no more than *fulfill the seven*. (73) But the Supplement of the Vulgar Latin is necessary, and it is rightly Englished *fulfill her Week*. Or after the (74) Greek, *compleat all her Sevenths*; i. e. every instance of the Marriage Solemnity, both as to time and all things else. This doubtless must be the sence of that

(71) Antiq. l. i. c. 19. (72) Aug. in Gen. Valde iniquum Jacob fallaciter deceptum, &c. (73) Imple hebdomadam dierum. (74) Συντέλεσον ἐν τῇ ἑβδομα τούτῃ.

place, as appears from the Story it self, if we consider it. For *Jacob* abode with *Laban* 20 Years, as we read *Gen. xxxi. 38, 41.* at the 14th of which *Joseph* was born, and before which time *Rachel* having been a good while Barren, and so despairing of Issue, gave her Maid *Bilha* to her Husband, who had by her two Sons, before she her self had any, as we see *Ch. 30.* And therefore it must follow that *Rachel* was Married before the second seven years after his Service was expired; which proves it to be no more than a *Week of days*, at the end of which *Jacob* Married *Rachel* likewise. But how far does this operate to make good what you propose? The *Hebrews* were wont to allow sometimes seven, sometimes three days for the celebration of a *Wedding*; Therefore the *Patriarchs* computed Time as we do, by *Septenaries* or *Weeks*, within the compass of which they always observed a *Sabbath*. We read in *Tully's* Epistles (before cited) the word *hebdomada*, which is the Translation of the Hebrew *Seven*, and our English *Week*, but no oftner than we find it here in the Book of *Genesis*. And we read moreover, that it was the way of the *Jews* to solemnize their *Marriages*, as also to mourn for seven days together: So there was a Custom among the *Romans*, at the death of their Friends, to meet in the House of the Deceased for seven days before *Burial*, (75) to make great lamentations and outcries, to the end, that if the Party were not really dead, but only in a *Swoon* or deep *Sleep*, the noise might awake and recover him. Yet I think this Argument does not demonstrate any such *Weekly supputation* among the ancient *Romans*,

(75) Ad conclamandum.

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who reckon'd their *Years* by *Months*, and their *Months* by *Kalends*, *Nones* and *Ides*, as I before noted to you; and as to the rest, I leave you to apply it.

B. The Expression barely in it self, and limited to this custom, may not commence an argument to secure the Hypothesis; but consider'd as a *Comment* on the prime institution of the *Sabbath*, when God rested and blessed the Day, this practice supposes the Institution observed in those early Times; and probably the Patriarchs appointed so many Days for their *Nuptials* on the same Reason the *Rabbins* give why *Circumcision* was to be the 8th Day after the Birth of the Child, that so one *Sabbath* might be sure to pass over it, to sanctifie the Ceremony when they went about it. And in this sence I take that of *Job* (76) *There was a Day when the Sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord.*--Again, (77) *There was a Day, &c.* Which evidently shows that the Patriarchs had their *stated Days* for Religious Worship. For this *Job* lived some Generations before *Abraham*, and is look'd upon to be that (78) *Jobab* in *Genesis* who was the *sixth* from *Noah*. And in great likelihood those Days were *Weekly*, according to *Laban's* Language, and the Divine Lesson which God taught *Adam*, and *Adam's* Posterity. "And to be sure, had the 2d Meeting of the Sons of God in this Book been at a greater distance than a *Week* from the first, Satan had lost all his patience; and thereupon had address'd God to enlarge his Commission, and lengthen his Chain."

(76) Job i. 6. (77) Job ii. 1. (78) Septimum diem volunt aliqui Jobum Sacrificiis celebrasse. Aben-Ezra Vld. Gen. Chron.

A. The *Prolapsarian Doctrine* doth more fully explain what you call the *prime Institution* and Original of the Sabbath, than those practical Comments you use to confirm it. And in that way of resolution, there is no more absurdity in this than (79) in other Examples, and particularly in that assertion which makes *Christ the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the World*. For tho' he was not actually Sacrificed 'till the fulness of time was come under *Pontius Pilate* the Roman Deputy; yet we give his Sufferings an earlier date, (80) and *Michael the Arch-Angel* is said to overcome the Dragon by the blood of the Lamb, because it was virtually shed, and he slain in the Eternal purpose of his Father. "For when things are once put into a
 " Divine Promise they are said to be, because
 " tho' they do not attain to actual existence 'till
 " long after, yet the Promise gives 'em a real
 " Being, a metaphysical Essence, as a Rose in
 " Winter. God blessed and sanctified this Day;
 True, no Man gainsays it, because we find it so in *Genesis*, a Book written by *Moses*, who was inspired to pen it. But how shall I be assured that this discovery of God's sanctifying the Day was not made by the Holy Ghost to that Prophet? To say, God taught it *Adam* begs the Question. For how do we come to learn this Secret, when we have not one Syllable concerning the Sabbath, or the observation of it 'till the days of *Moses*. Yes, *Laban* has his Week, and *Job* his solemn Days of Devotion. I take this to be dealing with Scripture, as *Chymists* do with some sorts of Bodies, which they torture and squeeze, to extract Essences or Spi-

(79) *Vid. Exod. xvi. 32. in eo loco commemorat quod postea factum est, Aug.* (80) *Rev. xii. 11.*

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rits which were never in 'em. The Interpreters are not few who take pains to veil the clearest light ; and if the Text should be hard in it self, they make it ten times harder. But to come to this passage concerning *Job* ; wherein there are so many perplexities about his *Person*, *Condition*, and *Age* he lived in ; as also what is meant by the *Sons of God*, and how and when they presented themselves before the Lord, that we have little encouragement to draw any conclusion from him or those words you quoted to clear the Doctrine we are now upon ; Yet Tho' some doubt whether there was ever such a Person as *Job* in the World, and look on his Book (81) as a piece of Poetry, and a Theme to discourse on Providence ; yet we must needs allow him a real Being, because the Prophet *Ezekiel* and the Apostle *St. James* both mention and make him stand on the same certainty with *Noah* and *Daniel* ; and withall proposing him as an Example of Patience, it sufficiently proves that there was such a Man.

The Book was divinely writ, and is of excellent use to confirm the notion of Providence. For it has been a Question in all Ages, both within and without the Church, *Why Good Men are afflicted, and Ill Men flourish* : Events which seem so inconsistent with the Care and Conduct of a just and gracious God ; and which being misunderstood, have administered occasion for several People to deny the Deity, and attribute all either to *Chance* or *Destiny*. But the History of this Holy Man, his Sufferings, and the Disputes thereon between him and his Friends, do

(81) *Ut parabolam confictam & thema disputationis de Divina Providentia.*—Antonin. Florent. Chron. P. 1. C. 8. Tit. 3. Sect. 12.

very much conduce to solve the Riddle. For *Job* being so severely handled by *Satan*, as we find in the two first Chapters; tho' his Wife could not on that account perswade him to *curse God and die*, yet he forbore not to disgrace the day of his Birth, and to wish the (82) Night had perished, wherein it was said, there is a man-child conceived. Upon this *Eliphaz*, *Bildad* and *Zophar* his 3 Friends, charge him with want of Religion: And being Persons who own'd Providence, they justify the proceedings of God, and accuse him of some wickedness (tho' not openly known) which provoked the All-wise Judge to give him this usage. This makes *Job* strain a little to vindicate himself, and convincing the 3 Disputants, That Sin is not always the Cause of Mens misfortunes, he happens to let go some words, which *Elihu* a Stander by, thought pinched too much on the divine Justice, and so rebukes him for it. In the conclusion, God was pleas'd (83) out of a Whirl-wind to set 'em all at rights, and checks *Elihu* for judging too hard of *Job*; as he chides also the Holy Man himself for not being more wary, tho' innocent, in his expressions, which gave the Hearers reason to think amiss of his Justice: But is very angry with the other Three, for calling his Servant an Hypocrite, and believing him to deserve all those pains and losses, whereby he intended only to try his patience and submission, having a design to reward him with a double portion of Temporal Happiness, as well as afterwards with Eternal Life. And therefore he commands 'em to go immediately and offer Sacrifice to atone for this Uncharitableness towards their good Friend, and the

(82) Job iii. 3.

(83) Job xxxviii. 1.

wrong Opinion they had of his own Conduct and Providence. This is the Substance of that Book which (84) some conceive purposely writ by *Moses*, to keep up the Spirits of the *Israelites* under their bondage in *Egypt*, and make 'em hope for an happy issue, as *Job* had, out of all their streights and troubles. (85) Yet others consider it a work of *Solomon*, or one of the *Prophets*, and many will have *Job* himself to be the *Author* of it, or one of his Companions. But this is uncertain; we imploy our minds rather on the Book it self, which as it contains an Heroick instance of *Religious Fortitude* and *Patience*, so it is Recorded to give us a right sence of what God designs in these Events, and to incourage us to follow an *Example*, so honourably remembred, and so well requited for his present Sufferings. But of this by the by.

The Point in Debate is *who*, *what* and *when* he was. You place him before *Abraham*, and if so, he may be that *Jobab* who was the Son of *Jochan* in *Genesis* x. 29. But this Opinion does not find much countenance from the Interpreters of that place. Several indeed own him for *Jobab* the Son of *Zera* in *Bozra*, and for this we have the Authority of the 70, who at the conclusion of the Book make this Supplement. "And these are the Kings that governed in *Edom*, first *Balak* the Son of *Beor*, "and after him *Jobab* called also *Job*—So that He was the 2d King in *Edom*, and Successor to *Balak*, or as he is named in the Book

(84) Sunt qui opinantur Mosem Historiam Job apud Jethro socerum suum in terra Madian reperisse, &c. Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trident. (85) Anton. Chron. de Job loco cit.

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(86) of *Chronicles*, *Bela the Son of Beor*, who being dead, *Jobab the Son of Zera in Bosra*, Reigned in his stead. Whence it appears, saith a *Lapide*, that *Job* was a *King in Idumea*, and the 2^d in order; and He cites *Philo*, *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, *Eusebius* and others of the same Mind, (87) as was also *Isidore*, who makes him the 4th from *Esau*. That he was a great *Prince*, perhaps a *King*, we see Chapter 29. For when he went to the gate (the place of Judicature) the *Princes* refrained talking, and laid their hands on their mouths, and the *Nobles* held their peace. I sate as a *King*, which *Cajetan* excepts against, as not being truly a *King*, but like one, as a *King*. But the word does not always signifie *similitude*, but confirms the *adjunct*, as in *John* i. 14. as of the only *Begotten of the Father*, which without an *Arrian* gloss does not weaken the reality and truth of *Christ's* being the *Son of God*. However more plainly, Chapter xix. 9. He hath strip'd me of my glory, and taken the *Crown from my head*.—And this *Quality* made him a more agreeable Companion for *Eliphaz* and the rest, whom the (88) *Seventy* make *Kings* as well as *Him*. Yet it is objected that *Job* and *Jobab* cannot be the same, because those Names begin with different (89) Letters, the first with *Aleph*, and the other with *Jod*; and tho' *Pinedas* would willingly reconcile 'em, by making *Job* (90) *Binominis*, as in many other Examples, yet this is meer conjecture, and not sufficient to satisfy the scrupulous.

(86) 1 Chron. i. 44. (87) *De Vita Sancti*.

(88) Ελισάβ. Θαιμανών Βασιλεύς. Βαλδεδ' ο Σαυχαίων
 τύραννος. Σωφάρ ο Μιναιών Βασιλεύς. (89) יוֹב אֵיִן

(90) *Adah and Judeth, Aram and Ram, &c.* A *Lap. Can.* 19. in *Pent.*

And

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And therefore if this Objection be of any effect to disprove *Job* to be the *Son of Zera* notwithstanding the Authority of so many Fathers and other Learned Men, I think it concludes as strongly against *Jobab the Son of Jochan* who lived a great while *before Abraham*, as the other a great while *after him*.

And as his *Person* is not well distinguish'd, so neither his *Lineage*. For to pass by the fancy of *R. Solomon*, who makes him a *Chanaanite*, and consequently of the Posterity of *Cham*, the Authors of best esteem derive him, some from *Abraham*, others from (91) *Nachor Abrahams Brother* by his Wife *Melcha*, whose Son *Uz* gave name to that *Region* of which *Job* is said to be; which however is very doubtful, because it might be so called from another (92) *Huz*, the Grand-Son of *Noah* by *Sem*. Neither can they who draw him from *Abraham* agree among themselves, whether he descended from *Jacob* by his Son *Issachar*, or from *Esau Jacob's Brother*, and the 3^d or 4th of that Family, as *Origen*, *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose* and an whole Jury more assert, cited by *Pinedas*, and all of 'em supported by the (93) *Seventy* who expressly say of him that *He was a Son of the Sons of Esau*, from whom descended all or most of those Friends of his who came to visit him in his Distress. And so his Pedigree runs thus; *Esau* begat *Rahuel*, and *Rahuel Zera*, and *Zera Jobab* or *Job*. And in this they all consent, that he was long *after Abraham*, tho' 'tis very uncertain by what Branch he came from him.

(91) Hier. Heb. Qu.

(92) Gen. x. 23.

(93) 'Ex τῶν 'Hσεν υἱῶν υἱός.
Cit.

(94) A Lap. Loc.

The *Date* of his Reign is as doubtful as all the rest. *Isidore* makes him cotemporary with *Moses*. Stone the Jesuit saith, that he lived 70 Years before *Moses* was Born, and died about five before the Deliverance of the People of *Israel*. And this closes with *Sulpitius Severus*, who gives him being about the time when *Moses* dwelt with *Jethro* his Father-in-Law. *Burgenfis* brings him into the World after the Peoples departure out of *Egypt*, and *Gregory* yet lower to the days of the Judges. *St. Jerom* with some others, make him as old as *Jacob*, supposing (95) that *Eliphaz* to be the same with him who was the (96) Son of *Esau*. *Genebrard* supposes him to flourish, when *Jacob* and his Family went down into *Egypt*; and others some time after when *Jacob* died. But 'tis reasonable to think that he lived a considerable while after *Esau*, as appears from the Names of his Associates and Friends. For *Eliphaz* is said to be a *Temanite*, the place borrowing its Name from *Teman*, the (97) Son of that *Eliphaz*, who was the Son of *Esau* by his Wife *Adah*. *Bilda* was a *Shuite*, very likely from *Shua* *Abraham's* Son by (98) *Keturah*. *Zophar* was a *Naamathite*, from (99) *Timna* (by a Metathesis, as *Junius*, *Tremellius* and the Assembly conjecture) a Duke of that Name the Offspring of *Esau*. *Elihu* is called a *Buzite*, from (100) *Buz* the Son of *Nahor*. So that the Account on all hands makes him younger than *Abraham*, and the generality bring him down to *Moses*. And after all we must acknowledge this piece of Chronology very un-

(95) Job iv. 1. (96) Gen. xxxvi. 4. (97) Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11. (98) Gen. xxv. 1, 2. (99) Gen. xxxvi. 4. (100) Gen. xxii. 21.

certain, and therefore of little force to prove any thing.

But to come to the words of the Text you propose, wherein we must incounter so many difficulties, that I cannot see what can be brought from thence to our present purpose. *There was a time when the Sons of God*—or as you say, *There was a day*, and you take it for the *Sabbath*, yet our Translators are justified from the latitude of the word, signifying *time* at large, as *Day* in the Writings of *Justin Martyr*, and *Plato* means *time* without determining or defining it by such a number of *hours*. And so the word being exposed to this uncertainty, it imports no more, than that it so fell out *on a time*, without saying *what time* it was. *Junius* and *Tremellius* limit it to *one of the days* whereon *Jobs* Children were Feasting; and affirm that on *one of these days* it happen'd that the *Sons of God* likewise met, and *Satan* among 'em. But as it is not resolved which of the days it was, so neither can it be inferred that it was *one of seven*. And tho' it be true, that the Feast lasted for *seven days*, yet this period had no eye to any *Weekly Revolution*, but only to the *number of Jobs Sons* which were *Seven*, and we are told that *they Feasted in their Houses every one his day*, ver. 4. So that if he had had *more or fewer Sons*, perhaps the time of the Feast had held the same proportion, and the Week made *longer or shorter* according to their *number*. All that a Man can well argue from the passage is, That this *Seven days Feast*, so ill spent in Rioting and Pleasures, that the good Father thought himself obliged to offer *Sacrifices* in behalf of his Children, did not well suit the *Patriarchal Sabbath*, if every *Seventh day* was necessarily distinguished

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by actions of Devotion and Piety. And therefore instead of Oblations, *Job* had been bound in Conscience and Duty to use the Authority of a *Magistrate*, as he certainly was, and hindered the continuance of a *Revel* so long and so scandalous to Religion. And if this Sacrifice was really offer'd on the 8th *Day*, when the full time of the Feast was over, then it must follow, that either the young People began their Mirth on that *very day* when they ought to have been at their Prayers, or else *Job's* Service had no respect to the *Day*, or the *same number of Days* (a) afterwards in use among the People of the *Jews*.

But let them behave themselves as they thought fit, There were *others* it seems of a better Mind, who met together for *Ends* more answerable to the *Principles* which guided *Job* and them. *There was a day in which the Sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord.* The *Sons of God*, is [*anceps nomen*] very ambiguous; and so many lay claim to that Stile, that it must be hard to distinguish 'em one from another. *Great Men* are called the *Sons of God*, as *great Trees* are the *Trees of God*, and *great Mountains*, the *Mountains of God*; and so *Symmachus*, *Vatablus* and *Pagnine*, what we literally render *Sons of God*, they translate (b) the *Sons of the Mighty*. The Arabick, *Sons of the Illustrious*. The Targum of *Onkelos*, the *Sons of Princes*. The Samaritan, *Sons of Men in Power*. And opposite to this, they turn [*the Daughters of Men*] into the *Daughters of the Common People*, *Plebeians*, or *Men without any Title* or mark of Honour. Again, *Good Men*

(a) Selden *de jure Nat.* l. 3. c. 14.
Gen. vi. 2.

(b) On
have

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have likewise the same Periphrasis, and are *Sons of God* by Adoption and Grace; and so (c) *St. Paul* asserts, that *as many as are lead by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God.* (d) And *St. John* herein magnified the love of the Father, that we should be called the *Sons of God*—And in this sence doubtless is to be understood that of *Genesis*, the *Sons of God* saw the *Daughters of Men*; i. e. the *Sons of Seth* were enamour'd of the *Daughters of Cain*, and at length Married 'em. And as *Good Men* are the *Sons of God*, so are also the *Good Angels*; and the rather because being *Spirits* they approach nearer the *Divine Nature*, and never universally fell, as *Man* did; to displease their Maker. And so, when (e) *King Nebuchadnezzar* had called the 4th Person in the Fiery Furnace, the *Son of God*, he immediately explains himself, while he blesses God, who had sent his *Angel* to preserve his *Servants* that trusted in him. If therefore the Phrase be of such extent in the Holy Book, and signifies either *Angels* or *Men*; and *Men* of different qualities on the account of *Vertue* or *Fortune*, I think there can be no better way to find out the meaning of the particular Text you name, than to examine this Author himself (who must be supposed to understand the same thing in the same Language) and what he designs in another place, where he uses the same expression. In Chap. xxviii. 7. we hear God challenging *Job* to answer this Question, *Where wast thou when I laid the Foundations of the Earth—When the Morning stars sung together, and all the Sons of God shouted for*

(c) Rom. viii. 14.
iii. 25, 28.

(d) 1 Joh. iii. 1.

(e) Dan.

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joy? All Translations conspire in rendring these *Sons of God* by *Angels*, because no other *Sons of God* were then in Being before the Creation was finished. And who saith *St. Chrysostom*,
 “ Beholding the multitude of Creatures, the Beau-
 “ ty, the dispositions, the Usefulness, the Va-
 “ riety, the Order and other Qualities of ’em,
 “ were amazed at the sight, and so brake out
 “ into a Divine Hymn in Commendation of the
 “ Creator. So that ’tis very likely, that what-
 ever *Moses* or other Writers mean by this form
 of words, yet *Job* or whoever else Penned the
 Book, must by this Periphrasis, be supposed
 to denote the *Holy Angels* in both these Places
 alike, as Commentators generally take it.
 And the drift was this, That because our In-
 firmities cannot comprehend God in his Ma-
 jesty, he is set forth to us as (f) an Earthly
 Prince, or some Great Man sitting on his
 Throne or Chair of State, that so our Capac-
 ties might be able to reach what is spoken of
 him. And his *Angels* are compared to *Mini-
 sters*, or Officers in the Government, who at
 certain times present themselves before their
 Master to give an account of what they have done
 in their respective Employments, by virtue of
 the Commissions he gave ’em.

How this was done is hard to say; and
 therefore different ways are taken to make us
 understand it. For some have their *Prosopopœia*,
 and think it no more than an artful introduction
 of Persons and Things to represent somewhat
 to ground a Moral or Application on. Others
 conceive it a *Vision*, and that the *Idea* or Cha-
 racters of this passage were so lively impress’d

(f) Sunt hæc humanitus dicta & à terrenis regibus
 desumpta. Jun. & Trem. in 1 K. xxii. 29.

on the Mind of the Writer, that it seem'd to him as if he had really seen it. And thus (g) *Micah* saw God on his Throne, (h) and *Zachary Joshua* the High-Priest, before the Angel of the Lord, and *Satan* standing at his right hand to resist him.

Most Conclude, That this is *Historically* related, and contains matter of Fact about the *Angels* meeting together to present themselves before God, and account for their several Charges; and that *Satan* (who owed *Job* a spleen) took the opportunity; and while the *Angels* were making favourable reports in behalf of this devout Man; He on the other side, used all his cunning to lessen his Vertue, and desired a Warrant from God to proceed, as he did afterwards, to demonstrate, (as he pretended) the *hypocrisie* of *Job*. One only Exception there is against this Exposition, and that is, If by the *Angels* presenting themselves before the Lord, is meant Gods Throne in Heaven, then it cannot be imagined that *Satan* being once cast out, should ever be again admitted thither. This is resolv'd and answer'd, by supposing that this Convention was not in Heaven, but in some other place, probably in *Job's* Country, where the *Guardian Angels* of *Job's* Kingdom, Person and Family came together, to Discourse (in their way of communicating thoughts) concerning the Patriarch's Behaviour and Conduct; and that the Devil having liberty to appear among good *Angels* as well as good *Men*, took this time to slur the *Saints* Reputation, and to Petition for Power to put his Piety to trial. Now among these, for Orders sake a *Superiour Angel* presided;

(g) 1 Kings xxii. 19.

(h) Zach. iii. 1.

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who being in *Gods* stead, and acting in *his* Name he might carry his *Lord's* stile without offence; and God himself might be said to talk to *Satan*, tho' only by him, who was *President* at this Meeting. And thus we may consider that appearance of the *Lying Spirit* (who was to deceive King *Ahab*) before God's Throne; which ought not to be strictly taken, but as his Throne and Presence was elsewhere; or as *Personated* by one of the Angels.

This Assembly of *Angels* was it seems *twice*, and you fancy *six days* between them. Yet *St. Chrysostom* was of another Mind, and sets the *second Meeting* the next day after the first; and *Aquinas* the very same day, tho' called (i) another from the new business of it, as we read in *Genesis*, saith he, that there were (k) several days in the Creation, from the variety of the Creatures, the better to discern one from another. And this Conjecture is bottomed upon your own reason, *Satan's* (l) impatience, which would not admit of any delay; and therefore as soon as the Angels came together, he intruded among them, and presented himself to the *Prolocutor*.

But in reality, all this amounts no higher than bare Opinion, and the only Scripture in the History of *Job*, which gives any colour for the *Seventh-day*, is in Chapter ii. 13. So they fate down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him—Yet this was no more than according to the manner of (m) Physicians in Cases of desperate Diseases; and they waited in expecta-

(i) Propter novum factum. (k) Propter plura rerum genera. Aquin. (l) Illud certum videtur non refriguisse Dæmonis Sevitiâ neque multum temporis expectasse, &c. Pined. in Job. (m) Medicorum more, Pined. in loc.

tion that his grief might assuage when that term of Days was over. Or rather, their Design in this Visit being to condole with him, they observed the *set Days* allotted on that Occasion, and would enter on no Discourse 'till he thought fit to give an opportunity for it, as we find he did, in the beginning of the third Chapter.

B. Well, but to argue from *Reason*. (n) Can it be imagined that God would leave the World at this *uncertainty*, and seeing he expected the *Homage* of their Devotion, would he not prescribe them a *time* to do it in, to avoid that *confusion and disorder* which must necessarily attend the want of such an *Institution*. And tho' 'tis true, we do not read in express terms that *Adam*, or the rest of the *Patriarchs* observed the *Sabbath*, yet that silence doth not disprove it, no more than in other Cases, which certainly were, tho' they do not occur in the Holy Writings. We no where read that *Adam* worshipped God, yet can we once imagine that he did not Worship? There is no hint of the *Sabbath* throughout the Book of *Judges*; nor do we find *Sampson*, or *Deborah*, or *Joshua* keeping it. Was it therefore not kept all that time? You were observing out of the *Rabbins*, that from the very beginning the World was devoted to Idolatry and False Worship; and so indeed (o) *Maimonides* asserts, that the *Wise Men* then, such as the *Priests themselves*, thought there was no God, save the Stars, for whose sake, and in whose like-

(n) *Naturali aequitati consentaneum est tam tempus ad cultum peragendum quam cultum ipsum definire. Dies Dom. l. 1. c. 8.* (o) Loc. supra citato.

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ness they made many Images; but for the Rock Everlasting, there were very few to acknowledge him 'till Abraham our Father was come. No wonder then that this Day was exploded, when the Worship it felt ceased, and I am not surprized at all to find that there is no mention made of it in that Age no more than during the Bondage of the People of Israel in Egypt, when it is not likely their severe Task-Masters could be induced to let 'em rest every Seventh-day for the hindrance of so much business. (p) Hear how Philo describes their Condition. "The
 " Overseers of the Work were the most cruel and
 " unmerciful Men in all the Country, who laid
 " upon 'em greater Tasks than they were able to
 " indure; inflicting on them no less Punishment
 " than death it self, if any of 'em (yea tho by
 " reason of Infirmary) should withdraw himself
 " from his daily labour. Some were commanded
 " to imploy themselves in the Publick Structures,
 " others to bring Materials for mighty Buildings,
 " never enjoying any rest Day or Night, that in
 " the end they were even spent and tired with
 " continual travel—So that in this woful State,
 it cannot be expected that they should have either leave or leisure to keep their Sabbath, or solemnly worship God. Yet some Jews are otherwise perswaded, and say, That even in their Slavery, they were Circumcised and observed the Sabbath; and add, (q) That this Obedience to the Holy Ordinance, was the motive which induced God to work out their deliverance. Which, tho' (r) Maimonides contradicts, yet

(p) De vit. Mos. (q) Redempti sunt Israelitæ ex Ægypto ob observatam illic circumcisionem & Sabbatum. Bial Turim in Exod. I. Dr. Lightfoot. (r) Neque quiescere neque Sabbatum agere potuerunt. Apud Rivet. in Decalog.

that they held Sacred Assemblies under that Condition, The *Tabernacle*, which *Moses* calls (s) *the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, placed without the Camp, and brought along with 'em from *Egypt*, doth not a little prove. For as to that *Tabernacle*, whose Pattern was received in the Mount, 'tis very evident that it was not yet made; and an account we have of it in the Chapter following. And therefore as this shows they worship'd God in their Servitude, so 'tis reasonable to suppose that they did it on *this Day*, which is the matter of dispute between us. But be it otherwise, in this and the like Cases, there is a yielding to necessity; and on this account it might fall out, what *Josephus* saith happen'd at another time; (t) "When *Antiochus* would not permit the *Jews* to Celebrate the Sabbath, but oblig'd 'em to do on it all Labour and Business they were accustomed to do upon any other day. And so urgent he was, that in a short time the Sabbath was not neglected among them of *Antiochia* only, but also in other places, and in the Cities round about.— But all this inferrs not that there was no Sabbath, because the observation of it was suspended for a while, and during that *suspension*, might not be named for want of opportunity to do it.

A. That God did not appoint *Days* for the Duties of Religion, is no more to be admired than that he did not prescribe the *Duties* themselves, but left it to *natural light* to guide 'em in their Worship as *often* and *in what manner* they thought good, except in some very few instances, and many years after the World was made. And as for that deluge of *Impiety*

(s) Exod. xxxiii. 7. (t) De Bello Jud. l. 7. c. 21.

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before the Flood, or the *Slavery* of the People after it, which for its Cruelty was indeed compared to (u) an *Iron Furnace*. In both these Cases there might be a *suspension* of keeping the *Sabbath*, yet there could not be wanting opportunities to name it, which was not done 'till (w) *Moses* was Commission'd for it. Tho' when all's done, it seems very odd, that of so many hundred thousand Souls in *Egypt*, not One should have so much *Zeal* and *Courage* as to hazard the utmost displeasure of *Pharaoh's* Officers for the Observation of a *Day* Divinely Instituted, if it truly were, and they thought it to be so. And if any Man or Woman had suffer'd and died a *Martyr* in that Cause, I am perswaded the Prophet would not have forgot him, if only for their incouragement to whom he was recommending the *Sabbath*, and making a *Law* to keep it. Courage certainly they did not want, (x) " For the miseries which
 " they afterwards underwent under *Antiochus*
 " rather than they would prophane the *Sabbath*;
 " and those Calamities which they chose
 " to fall upon them by the hands of the *Romans*
 " rather than to make resistance on that *Day*,
 " are sufficient Proofs, that neither force nor
 " fear could now have wrought upon 'em not
 " to keep the same, had such a Duty been
 " commanded. Questionless, *Joseph* for his
 " part, who did prefer a loathsome Prison
 " before the unchast Embraces of his Master's
 " Wife, would no less carefully have kept
 " the *Sabbath* than he did his *Chastity*, had
 " there been any *Sabbath* then to be observed

(u) Jerem. xi. 4. (w) *Ad Moses usque tempora
 ceterorum dierum similis erat, i. e. dies Sabbati.* Bede.
 (x) *Heylin's Hist. of the Sabbath. P. 1. c. 3. Sect. 10.*

" either

“ either as dedicated by *Nature*, or prescribed
 “ by *Law*. And surely either the *Sabbath* was
 “ not reckon’d all this while as any branch of
 “ the *Law of Nature*, or else it finds hard mea-
 “ sure in the *Book of God*, that there should be
 “ particular Proofs how punctually the rest of
 “ the *Moral Law* was observed and practised
 “ among the Patriarchs, and not one word or
 “ item that concerns the observation of the
 “ *Sabbath*.

The *Tabernacle* you propose is a very uncertain medium to prove their *Worship*, much less the *Sabbath*. For first *Calvin* and others say, that this *Tabernacle* is the same with what God commands to be erected in the Chapters following, and which they suppose made already. And whereas in the beginning it was *within* or (y) *in the middle of the Camp*, now he removed it *far from the Host*, with design to admonish them thereby, that they had made themselves unworthy the Divine Presence; and tho’ he left them still an opportunity of access, yet he would not give ’em the honour of *Co-habitation*. But I think this too gross a *transposition*, and the circumstances of the History will hardly admit so much time between *Moses’s* coming down from the Mount, and the building of a *Tent* so glorious and costly. Nor am I fond of a *Prolepsis* here to represent that *done*, which *was to be done* some time after. Most likely it is, what you take it to be, a *distinct Tent* from that (z) which God commanded to be built, and which being built, the Use this was put to might cease for the future. The *Syrack* and *Seventy* call it *Moses’s own Tent*;

(y) Numb. ii. 17.

(z) Exod. xxv. 8.

and if so, your Argument is lost. The *Arabick* saith it was the *Tabernacle of the Assembly*, the *Targum of Onkelos*, the *Tabernacle of the House of Doctrine*, signifying the *Business* it was put to, namely, to meet together for the exercise of Religion, as also to consult about Civil Matters. And tho' it might not be *Moses's-Tent* strictly taken, as an ordinary apartment for himself and Family, which *Calvin* disallows, yet probably it was † a *Room of State* wherein the *Elders* met to conferr with *Moses*. 'Tis doubtful when it was made, yet 'tis credible that its date bore about that time when the *Pillar of Cloud* appear'd in the Camp, || out of which God discoursed *Moses*; for we never hear of it before that occasion. *Junius* and *Tremellius* affirm, that the erecting of this *Tabernacle* was a sign of Gods displeasure, who would no longer vouchsafe to dwell among 'em, as he did before this *Tabernacle* was made. But were it so, that they brought it out of *Egypt*, and put it to a Religious Use, (neither of which shows it self in the History of *Moses*) yet it concludes no more for the observation of the *Jewish Sabbath*, than the *Temples* of the Heathens do for a *Seventh-day*, to which they had little respect, as we shall see anon. For tho' both had their *set-places* and *set times*, yet they very much differed from one another.

As to *Adam*, Tho' no mention is made of his *Worship*, (a) yet 'tis not to be thought but he did it, because this was agreeable to the *Law of Nature* to adore the Deity at some time or

† Tentorium Mosi quatenus ipse dux populi—Quo convenire solebant seniores audire consilium cum Mose. A Lapide. || Exod. xiii. 21. (a) Adam primus obtulit juvencum.

So the Rabbins. Vid. Reuchl. de arte Cabal. l. 1.

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other. But as we do not find that He had any *Rule* set him besides that *one Precept* of forbearing the *Tree of Knowledge* (which by the bare light of reason had never become a Duty and therefore called for a special Prohibition) so it is more reasonable to believe that he had no time named him; because if so, it must have been remark'd as the other *positive Precepts* were, and distinguish'd by some extraordinary way to ingage the Memory, and keep it from being forgotten. But to come at length to those *Testimonies* of the *Christian Fathers* which you laid before me, and which you desired my thoughts of, concerning the Old *Patriarch's* observation of the *Sabbath-day*.

Tertullian then, and *St. Augustine*, as we see in their own words, offer only the Opinion of the *Jews*, who in stretching this point of the *Sabbath*, are not to be wondred at, because the Celebration of it was one of their most distinguishing Articles; and by magnifying it, as they did, they would invite other Nations to close with 'em in it, and bring a greater odium on *Christianity* for abrogating an *Institution* (as they said) of the same date with the World, and made by God himself, for People to Worship him. And yet let me tell you, *Josephus* is so ingenuous as to fix this account wholly on *Moses*, the first Author and Discoverer of the Secret. His words run thus. (b) " *Moses* saith that the World and all that " is therein was made in *Six* whole *Days*, and " that on the *Seventh* God took *rest* and ceased " from his labours — So that this was unknown, " till *Moses* said it. The same *Mercerus* reports from many of the *Rabbins*. And in par-

(b) Antiq. l. 1.

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ticular *Solomon Jarchi* commenting on *Moses's* words, understands him in a *Prolepsis*, as a way that holy Writer frequently uses. *He blessed it*—i. e. the 7th Day, when? in the *Manna*, God having never declared himself in that matter so clearly before. “He blessed it by the *Manna*, because on the other Days of the Week, each of ’em had no more than an Omer, but on the Sixth Day the proportion was double. He sanctified it also by the *Manna*, because on that, i. e. the 7th they found none. And what is here written, respected the time to come. Again, “He blessed it in the *Manna*, because on the Seventh day there was none on the ground.—The same said *Moses Bar Nachman*, and *R. Ishmael*, who taught that the Sanctifying of the 7th Day was by the *Manna*. And we read it in the Dialogue called *Sepher Cozri*, “Can the Original of the Sabbath be fetch’d from any place but Sinai or *Alush* where the *Manna* descended? In *Alush* (the 10th Stage) they received the Sabbath, and there they first Celebrated it—And in the Book called *Seder Olam*, they say, that “The first Precept given ’em after their departure out of Egypt, was what was commanded in *Mara*—He means the Sabbath. And this old Tradition often occurs, “The Sabbath and other Laws were enjoyn’d in *Mara*. In so many words *R. Abraham*, *Levi Ben Gersom* and others deliver themselves. And *Abarbinel* expounding the Memento of this Precept, saith “Remember the Sabbath-day, that is, remember what I commanded you in *Mara*. And to say no more, *Manasseh Ben Israel* who flights the Tradition, confesses it a very ancient one; what, tho’ some of the Ancients say, that this Precept about

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about the Sabbath was given in *Mara*? yet these some say no other thing than what is in their *Talmud* and Books of Chronology, of great Authority and veneration among 'em. And so in the Comment on the Hymn about the Sabbath. "*The Sabbath was ordain'd in Mara,*" and made a Precept on Mount Sinai; its sanctification was from the Beginning, but the first [actual] Sabbath was in after Ages. Which shows, that if the Jews had had any good ground for a greater Antiquity of their Sabbath, they would have made use of it to magnifie a thing they so much adored and valued themselves for. But to return to our two Authors. What St. *Augustine's* own judgment was, you had before, wherein he allows no distinction of Days in the Creation, but conceives one time (or Day) enough for the Almighty God to produce all things in. And for (c) *Tertullian*, he denies that *Noah*, *Enoch* or *Melchisedech* had any regard for it. "God," saith he, delivered *Noah* from the Flood without the Sabbath. He translated *Enoch* to Heaven without the Sabbath or Circumcision. He made *Melchisedech* Priest without the Sabbath, without minding, perhaps without knowing the Sabbath. And this he urges, to prove the Institution of it by *Moses*, a temporary thing, because *Adam* and the Fathers did not keep it. And before him (d) *Justin* the Martyr tells his Adversary, a Jew, that in the days of *Enoch* People observed not Circumcision or the Sabbath, and that *Melchisedech* was accepted without it. (e) And *Irenaeus* saith, that *Abraham* believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, before he was Circumcised and without the Sab-

(c) *Adv. Jud.* (d) *Adv. Trypho.* (e) *L. iv. c. 30.*

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bath. And again, *The Company of just Men before Abraham, and all the Patriarchs before Moses were justified without these things, and without the Law of Moses.* So likewise (f) *Eusebius, There was no Circumcision, nor observation of the Sabbath among them, as there is none among us.*

B. All this is true; neither *Abraham* nor the other *Patriarchs* were justified by the *Sabbath* or by *Circumcision*; and so far *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* say well, that the *Fathers sine his justificabantur*, for *Faith* did that work, and not the *Ceremony*. And so the *Martyr* speaks, that the afore-named *Holy Men* pleased God, [*μὴ σαβανίζοντες,*] without *Sabbatizing*—that is, as *Tertullian* well interprets it, not observing the *Sabbath*; [*qu. Salutis medellam*] with that *Superstition* and *Formality* of the *Jews* afterwards, and without any opinion of *Merit*, or considering it as the means to *justification*. Indeed the *Patriarchs* had not this *Notion* of the *Sabbath*, nor was the *Day* so abused by them, as to keep it in that fence, nor by *us* no more than by *them*, as you said out of *Eusebius*. But then this does not invalidate the former assertion, or prove that the *Sabbath* was not known to the *Patriarchs*, or Solemnized as a *Day* allotted Religion. For they might keep *that Day*, as we do *ours*, a *Day* holy to God, tho' not such as *Moses* made it when the *Law* was given from *Mount Sinai*; or such at least as *Posterity* fancied it, which is what those (g) *Authors* censured and ex-

(f) *Eccles. Hist. L. i. c. 1.* (g) *Non de omni observatione loqui eum [Tertul.] dicere possumus, sed de illa rigida tantum quietis & cessationis exactione quam apud Judæos in usu fuisse scimus. Hospln. de Fest. Jud. c. 3.*

cepted against, and will not have the Patriarchs take any notice of. And as for *Abraham* in particular, it's said in *Genesis* xxvi. 5. *Because Abraham obey'd my voice*---Hence some (h) *Jews* conclude, as *Mercerus* tells us (who himself inclines to that Opinion) that *Abraham* kept the *Sabbath* as well as *Circumcision*, and other rites of the Law.

A. It was a very great Character and Commendation God was pleas'd to bestow on *Abraham*, that *He had obey'd his voice*---“ Right, “ *saith St. Chrysostom*, for God said unto him, “ *Get thee out from thy Fathers House, and “ from thy Kindred, and go unto the Land that “ I shall show thee. And Abraham went, lea- “ ving a certainty for hope, and this not wa- “ vering, but with all cheerfulness and readi- “ ness imaginable. Then followeth his expe- “ ctation of a Son in his Old Age when Nature “ was decay'd in him, because the Lord had “ promised one; His casting out of Ishmael, as “ the Lord commanded him; His readiness to “ offer Isaac as the Lord directed him, with “ many other things of that kind, enough to “ give occasion for that applause, but with- “ out regard to the Sabbath, for which this place is so little proof, that Rabbi Johanan and Galatinus from the Book they call the lesser Exposition on Genesis, assure us, That Abraham did not keep the Sabbath. And as for Justin, let him explain himself. “ Before Abraham there was no use of Circumcision, nor before Moses of keeping the Sabbath. Before Moses, none of the Righteous observed the Sabbath, neither received they any commandment to observe it---They did not keep it at all, nor hitherto was there any*

(h) *Quo loco custodia Sabbati intelligitur. Manasseh ben Israel. L. de Creat.*

Precept for it, no more than for *Circumcision*, which was not in use till *Abraham*. And to fancy they kept the *Sabbath* without the use of it, is a nicety I understand not, no more than I can apprehend how *Circumcision* was used without the *Ceremony*. (i) *Damascen* is close, *Before Moses's Law and Scripture given by Divine Inspiration, the Sabbath was not consecrated to God; But when the Scripture Divinely Inspired was given by Moses, the Sabbath was made Sacred to God, that the People might be exercised in the meditation of Scripture.* These Expressions are full and familiar; God did not actually consecrate a Day to be religiously observed, 'till *Moses* was inspired to Pen those things he had got by *Revelation* or *Tradition*, whereby the People might have somewhat certain before 'em to spend the Day in by holy reading and meditation. And thus far the (k) Schoolman you spoke of goes along with us. For tho' the keeping of the Sabbath might be proposed before *Moses*, (l) as a thing fit to be done, yet there was no Command for it, nor does it appear that it was look'd on as a thing that (m) ought to be done or was done, until the Law made it a *Duty*. I might lay before you more evidences of this sort. But to be free with you, they serve more to perplex than clear the Question. But then the inference is on my side, That since the Subject is *Problematical* and doubtful, and may administer fresh matter to continue the Dispute, what room is there left for the *morality* of the *Sabbath*? and how do these Arguments so prove the use of it among the Patriarchs, as to be able to give it that

(i) *De fid. Orto.* (k) *Alex. Hales, p. 3. Q. 32.*
 (l) *Secundum rationem honesti.* (m) *Secundum rationem præcepti.*

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Character? *Morality* is a Doctrine taught by the Light of Nature; and no sooner do we hear the several Lessons of it, but our Understanding assents immediately, without disputing or distrusting the Truth of 'em. But you see the different Sentiments of the Learned World make this Doctrine very *uncertain*, and that is a Condition nothing *moral* is or can be liable to. For to say, *I think*, is in other words *not* to be *persuaded*; and all the Quotations of this kind amount to very little more; the best is *conjecture*, because it has neither undeniable Reason nor Sacred Revelation to Seal what is proposed to us.

But I will humour the assertion, and call it True, that the *Patriarchs* kept the *Sabbath*; yet, this granted, the *Sabbath* is as far from *morality* as it was before; because all it can pretend to is a *positive Institution* of God, such as was the prohibition in Paradise about the *Tree of Knowledge*; abstinence from the *Blood* of Beasts; the difference between *clean* and *unclean* Creatures; the Sacrament of *Circumcision* and the like. " And to call these things (n) "*natural*, because the Fathers had regard to " 'em, is as much as to say, we are now obliged to 'em. And if so, we must not only " keep the *Sabbath*, because they kept it, but " we must Sacrifice as they did, and be *Circumcised* as they were. For the Argument " holds good in the *latter* instances as well as " the *former*, and if one Law be of *Nature*, " the other must be so too; so *Zanchius*. And therefore plainly what is *positive* is *not moral*. And that I may conclude my Answer to this

(n) Zanch. in quart. *Præceptis*.

part of your Objection; Supposing, as I said, the Patriarchs had the *Sabbath* in great veneration, and kept it as a Day set apart for Religious Uses; and supposing withal that God commanded the Observation of it (which is the utmost you contend for, and which is not demonstrable from any Text of Scripture, neither by way of *Doctrine* nor *Practice* before the times of *Moses*) all this can go no higher than a *positive Precept*; and that very Language as it destroys the notion of a *moral Law*, so it shows it was to last and bind no longer, than he pleas'd, who made it a *Law* for a *particular People*.

Secondly, As to the *Gentiles*;

How far their Testimony is concerned in this matter, we are to examine in the next place. And to begin with *Solon's-Week*, and what is meant by it. (o) To this Mr. Selden makes answer, that it signifies no more than the *Climacterical Years* or *Stages of Humane Life*: So it is consider'd by *Aristotle*; and in this fence it was very famous, as we find by *Plutarch*, *Censorinus* and others. Again, *The very School-Boys* know well enough that these *Weeks* of *Solon* were nothing else but the *Climacterick-years*. So that *Solon's-Week* is as little to the purpose as that of *Cicero's*, and contains *Years* and not *Days*, of which our common *Week* is constituted. Then for *Alexander Severus*; 'tis not to be much doubted, but he had a great inclination either to *Judaism* or *Christianity*, and on either account had respect to the *Day*; because, as Mr. Selden observes, it immediately follows in *Lampridius*, that he would willingly have erected a *Temple to Christ*, and brought him within

(o) De Jure Nat. L. iii. c. 17.

the number of his Country-Gods. And accordingly in a jeer, some were wont to call him the Syrian Priest, from the pleasure he took in the Jewish Rites. But that all this was Foreign, and no otherwise regarded at Rome than as related to the Jews, appears from Ovid, in that Book of his before-cited, who calls 'em *Peregrina Sabbata*, which had not been proper, if the Romans and other Nations had kept the Sabbath, as the Jews among 'em did. And the words *Peregrina Sabbata*, *Peregrina Sacra*, and the like, import not so much a Religious Rite belonging to Aliens; (or as Festus saith, brought to Rome from some other Country, and observed in the same manner as in the places from whence it came,) as a way of Worship not allowed by Authority without Legal Establishment, and had no more than bare connivance to keep it in being. As for the Poets who call the Seventh-day Holy, Perfect, and on which all things were finished—Their Seventh-day doth not intend that which (p) Weekly occurs, and hath its revolution or return four times each Month, but the (q) Day of the twenty eight, which in order bears that name, and was said to be Holy, because it was thought to be the (r) Birth-day of Apollo, whom the Priests therefore stiled [*ἑβδομαγενῆς*] Seventh-day-born. And so Hesiod, who calls it [*ἱερὸν ἡμέρας*], or the Holy-day, subjoins this Reason for his saying so, Because on it Latona brought forth Apollo. And elsewhere he joins the Seventh with the First and Fourth Day of every Month,

(p) *Septimana, septem dierum Systema.* (q) *Hæ autores non loquuntur de diebus Septimana, sed diebus Mensis Lunaris.* Hospinian. de Festis Ethnicis. (r) *Septimus dies mensis Apollinis natalibus sacer fuit.* Selden de jure Nat.

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and dedicates 'em all alike to *Jupiter*. But there were many other Days in the Month *holy* besides the *Seventh*. For the *Third* was consecrated to *Minerva*, the *Fourth* to *Mercury*, as Born on that Day; the *Eighth* to *Neptune* and *Theseus*; the *Ninth* to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*, the last to *Pluto*. And if at any time the Poets give an Emphasis to the *Seventh-day*, they are excusable for their Zeal, because *Apollo* was the Patron and President of Poesie; and that Principle led 'em to treat his *Birth-day* with a more particular honour. Besides, the *Seventh* is a *complete Number*, because whatever is perfect and most excellent in its kind is signified by that Number saith (s) *Grotius*. (t) The Reasons are various why it has this Figure from *Arithmetick*, *Physick* and *Scripture*; and the instances are too many to lay 'em all before you; but this is not to be denied, that the World has all along looked on it as a *Mysterious, Sacred and perfect Number*.

But tho' the Number *Seven* bears a great Name in Writings of all sorts, yet this is certain, that it is not the *only Number* that has the Character of *Perfect* and *Holy*, as we may easily perceive in the following Particulars.

(s) In *Lib. Evang.* (t) *Vid. Epiphan. Tom. 2.*
Cicero. in Som. Scip. Pet. Martyr. Loc. Com. c. 5. n. 43.
Masium in Josh. 6. Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 10.
Pezelium ex Melanchton. p. 2. Franc. Georg. de Hist.
Sacr. Tom. 1. Sect. 2. A Lapid. in Deut. y. 12. Philo.
lib. Alleg. Curcel. de Esusang. c. 6. Quintilian. l. 1. c. 1.
Isidor. Hisp. l. 6. Orig. Dr. Pridenax fascic. contro. Chrysost.
Orat. 5. in Jud. Basil. Hom. 11. Hexam. Aug. de Civ.
Dei. c. 31. Clem. Alex. Stro. 6. Ambr. de Noah, &c.
 Besides many instances in the Old and New Testament, as,
 7 Spirits, 7 Stars, 7 Deacons, &c.

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ONE: (u) *Macrobius* not only makes this the beginning of all Number, but saith, that it has a special reference or resemblance to God, the Cause and Creator of the Universe. And so we find it in *St. Jerom* much commended, and in the Speech *Eusebius* made in the praise of *Constantine*.

TWO: (w) This Number is Celebrated in both the Books of God, Nature, and Scripture. All things consist of matter and form. There are Two great Lights in the Firmament. Two Eyes, Ears, Hands and Legs in Man. There are Two Testaments, Two Tables, Two Commandments to which all Laws are reduced. Two Turtles, Pidgeons and Lambs for Sacrifice; Two Witnesses, and Christ sent out his Disciples Two and Two.

THREE: (x) This Number, saith *Origen*, was made for *Mysteries*. *Athanasius* equals it to the Seventh as representing the Trinity. And *Servius* Reports that the *Pythagoreans* accounted it a perfect Number, and liken'd it to the Deity; not because of the Three Persons, but as there is from him beginning, middle, and end. *Macrobius* discovers in it the Three great Faculties of the Soul, Understanding, Memory, and Will. And the *Arithmeticians* call it the perfect Number, because, say they, it hath beginning, middle, and end, which make up the perfection of a Number, and is a Condition most peculiar to the Number Three. It is in the first place full and perfect, saith *Cornelius Mussus*; and there is

(u) Vid. Hieron. in Amos. Euseb. de laud. Const. ch. 6.
 (w) Vid. Lactant. de Opif. Dei. N. 10, 12. Eliam in Greg. Naz. Orat. 4. Chrys. Hom. in Gen. Eccles. 33. 15. 42. 24.
 (x) Vid. Origen. Hom. in Gen. Servium in Virg. Ecclo 8. Eliam. loc. cit. Corn. Muss. de div. Hist. l. 3. c. 13. Euseb. de laud. Const. c. 6.

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no Creature in the World which has any shadow or footstep of the Deity, wherein this *Trias* does not some way or other contribute to its perfection.

FOUR: (γ) *This is the Perfect, Holy and Laudable Number, saith Philo. The Name of God in Hebrew, Greek and Latin is made out of four Letters; The Disciples of Pythagoras honour'd the Fourth as the Jews the Seventh-day, and on that Swore, if there was occasion for it; and the Oath ran in this form. I Swear by him who taught us the secret of the Number Four, the Spring of ever-flowing Nature, or Fountain of all things — Meaning, saith Nicetas, the Four Elements, out of which all Creatures are produced.*

FIVE: *This is not without some extraordinary signification, if only because it is the half of the Sacred Number Ten. Nature commends it in the Five Senses, Five Fingers, and Five Toes; and Scripture in the Five Talents, Five Loaves, and Five Virgins.*

SIX: (ζ) *This is a perfect Number, saith Bede, nay it is the first of the Perfect, as Philo, Bodin, and Clemens Alexandrinus from the Pythagoreans tell us.*

EIGHT: (ι) *Hesychius will have this Number to be a Figure of the other World; and that the Pythagoreans made it an Hieroglyphick of Justice. It consists of even Numbers, and is the double of the square, which representing steadfastness, it was therefore Dedicated to Neptune.*

(γ) Vid. Philo. de opificio Mundi. Clem. Alex. Stro. l. 5. Greg. Naz. Orat. 4. *μὲν τὸν τετρακτὸν, ὅθεν πρῶτον.*
 (ζ) Vid. Bede in Gen. Philo. de Mundi Opif. Clem. Alex. Stro. l. 4. (ι) Vid. Macrobi. Plutarch in Theseo.

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NINE: (2) *This* was an illustrious Number among the Poets, as we find by their *Nine Muses*; and was solemn with the *Romans*, witness their *Nones*. It had a *Charm against Theft*, assisted *Flight*, and was *Holy to the Sun*; as *Dionysius Halicarnassus* informs us.

TEN: (3) Now we are come to the most absolute and compleat Number, as comprehending all Numbers, the most perfect and holy. The *Tenth Day* *Virgil* much applauds; and his *Septima post decimum* does not mean that the *Seventeenth-day* is prosperous; but as *Servius* explains him, the *Tenth* is a very *Fortunate Day*, and next to it the *Seventh*. Or, as *Hospinian* speaks, the Poet magnifies *Two Days*, the *Seventh* and *Tenth*; but this last rather than the other. This Number has two Privileges; One that it is perfect in it self, and when we come to it we must begin again: The Other, that it is the *Mother of Perfection*, for Ten times Ten produce an *Hundred*, the most perfect Number of all. And the *Tenth* being so compleat a Number, it is sometimes made to signifie ever; *Deut. xxiii. 2, 3.* A Number consecrated to *Tythes*, not only by the *Law of Moses*, but by the *Law of Nature*, as appears from *Abraham* and *Jacob*, the (4) former paying that proportion to *Melchisedech* King of *Salem*, and Priest of the high God; (5) and the latter ingaging to set apart the *Tenth of all* he should possess, in case God would be pleased to bring him home to his *Fathers House* in safety. This was also the practice of divers Infidels, as we see in *Livy*,

(2) *Nona fuga melior, contraria furtis.* Virg. (3) *Vid.* Greg. Naz. Orat. 42. Euseb. de laud. Const. l. 6. Reuchlin. de Arte Cabal. l. 2. Hosp. de Fest. Montague against Selden, de decimis. decumanus fluetus. (4) Gen. xiv. 20.

(5) Gen. xxviii. 22.

Xenophon, and *Laertius*, who were wont to dedicate a good portion of Money taken from the Captives to *Apollo* or *Diana* (6) [*decima nomine*] under the name of *Tythe*. And *Agessilaus*, as I take it, in two years time offer'd an Hundred Talents and more to the God at *Delphos*, that he might not be wanting in discharging the *Tythe*. And the Custom was so prevalent, that *Pisistratus* the Tyrant writes thus to *Solon*; (7) *All the Athenians do separate the Tythe of their Fruits, not to be spent in our use, but for the Publick Sacrifices and common profit.* So the Old *Latins* paid *Tythes* to their God *Hercules*; as did also *Posthumus* and other Roman Captains. From which, and the like Examples, a Man might very well argue, That if any one Day be consecrated by the Light of Nature, to the Service of God rather than another, then most likely it must be the Tenth, the same proportion of time better answering that part of our Goods and Fruits which by the dictate of *Natural Reason* was consecrated to Divine Uses.

TWELVE: This is a Number very Famous in Scripture, from the *Twelve Patriarchs* in the Old Testament, and *Twelve Apostles* in the New. And the Mystery of this, *Rabanus*, and out of him *Thomas* [in *Catena*] gives us, because *Twelve* arises out of the Numbers *Three* and *Four* multiplied in themselves, and signifies that they were to Preach the Doctrine of the Trinity in the four Quarters of the World. We read likewise of the *Twelve Fountains* in *Elim*; the *Twelve Precious Stones* in the Pectoral of the High-Priest; the *Twelve Loaves* of Shew-Bread; the *Twelve Spies*; the *Twelve Tribes*;

(6) *Xenoph. in Cyro.* (7) *Laert. in vit. Solon.*

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the *Twelve* Oxen; the *Twelve* Stars in the Crown of the Bride; the *Twelve* Gates, and *Twelve* Foundations of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*. So in the Heavens we have *Twelve* Signs; and in History the (8) *Twelve* Governours among the *Egyptians*. And in a word, 'tis a Number so necessary, that if we give any credit to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, (9) God made use of it to settle the Universe.

The (10) Politicians make the Numbers *Thirty*, *Hundred*, *Two Hundred and Fifty*, *Five Hundred*, and *Seven Hundred* very remarkable periods, and frequently attended with great *Revolutions* and *Changes*.

And for the Number *Fifty*, *Philo* calls it the most *Holy*, the most *Natural* of all Numbers; and (11) *Origen* durst not attempt to open the *Secrets* of it.

But I have dwelt too long on a Subject, out of which, as *St. Chrysostom* speaks, Curiosity hath produced many *Fictions*, and whence many *Heresies* had their beginning. Indeed *Marcion*, *Valentinus* and *Basilides* were the Men that borrowed these Lessons of the Schools of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, on purpose to puzzle and amuse People with *Mysteries* in Religion. And if the Ancient Doctors of the Church took any notice of 'em, 'twas to make 'em able to talk with the *Hereticks* in their own Language; But for their Usefulness, (12) *St. Augustine* thought there was more affectation and *Pride* than *Profit* in this Study; and his advice was, to have regard not only to *Number*, but also to

(8) δωδεκαρχία, i. e. duodecim virorum principatus apud *Egyptios*. *Herodot.* l. 2. (9) τὸ δὲ δωδεκάσημα

εἰς τὸ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς κατεχέουσιν. *Plut. de placit. Philos.*

(10) *Axiomata Politica collecta à Greg. Richtero.*

(11) *Homil. 8. in Num.* (12) *de Civ. Dei, l. 11. c. 31.*

Measure and Weight, in discourses of this Nature. However, from what I have said, we may partly discover the little stress there is to be laid on the *Sacredness* and *perfection* of the *Number Seven*, when other *Numbers* have those *Commendations* and *Characters* as well as the *Seventh*, and in particular the *Numbers One, Three, and Ten* seem to excell it.

But how it came by its last Character, or that it is the *Day on which all things were finished*, This indeed seems more difficult to account for, unless we do allow (as we must) that many of the Infidels were no strangers to the Book of God; but as they were curious to dive into all sorts of other Learning, so they were not altogether wanting in *this*, as appears by *Aristotle*, or rather his *Master* who was so conversant in *Moses's Works*, that he is hereupon often called the (13) *Athenian Moses*. (14) *Aristobolus* speaks this loud enough, that *Hesiod* and *Homer* suck'd their Knowledge out of the Bible, which is not an improbable thing, because *Homer* lived some hundreds of years after *Moses*, and *Callimachus* more after *Homer*. And it is evident the Poets took their *Deucalion's-Flood* from that of *Noah*. (15) The *Giant's Sealing Heaven*, was drawn from that bold attempt of building the *Tower of Babel*. Their *Vulcan* was our *Tubal Cain* abbreviated, and both of the same Profession. Their Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* comes from the Story of *Jephtha's Daughter*, and Their mighty (16) *Jove* from our *Almighty*

(13) Plato, *Moses Attica lingua loquens*, sic Numenius. Pythag. apud Reuchlin de art. Ca. (14) Εξ τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων μετεληφότες. Apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. (15) Vid. A Lapide in Gen. vi. 4. & xi. 4. (16) Quidam ex nostris aiunt, hoc nomen in nostris literis sonare Jova: à quo nomen Jovis. Galat. de Arcan. Cath. Verit. l. 2. c. 10.

Jehovah. And therefore, if the better to Celebrate the Birth-day of their *Apollo*, the God of *Wisdom*, they stole that account of Scripture concerning the Creation's being finished on that Day (the stupendous work of Nature which nothing but an *Infinitely Wise* Deity was able to produce) and assign'd it to his Birth-day, this is no more than what they did in other Cases, aping *Moses* and the People of *Israel* in many things which could never be thought of, if they had not had recourse to those places where the *Jews* were, and consulted the Books they found among them, wherein these Particulars were revealed, and recorded. And for the greater credibility of this, we may observe that their most refined Wits went down at first from *Greece* to *Egypt*, which was in those days the Noblest Academy and School in the World, where all sorts of Arts and Sciences flourished; and there you know our Fathers resided for many Generations; and from *them* and *that Country* several Customs, such as *Circumcision* and some other Rites, were convey'd to the remotest parts. And if we sometimes meet with the same *Notions* and the same *Words* too in *their Books* which we find in *Scripture*, we need not be surprized at it, since it is the affectation and humour of most People to publish any thing they have got abroad, lest the World should think they have travelled for nothing. And thereupon, as a token of improvement, they are apt to Discourse in a *Language*, and perhaps in a *Sence* also remote from the capacities of the Vulgar.

B. How does this agree with *Lactantius*, (17) who admires that *Pythagoras* and *Plato*

(17) *Lactant. de vera Sap. l. 4. c. 2.*

should

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should so much neglect the Nation of the *Jews*, as not to enquire into *their Customs*, as they did into *those* of other Countries, which could not so well answer the expence and fatigue of their Journey.

A. That those Philosophers went down to *Egypt* *Lactantius* himself confesses; and there the *Jews* left many of their Customs behind 'em; and those Customs might be well enough called *Jewish* tho' learnt in another Kingdom, because they were *Originally* so. But whether instructed in *Egypt* or *Judea*, plain it is from these following Testimonies that they were not strangers to the ways of the *Hebrews* in many instances of Religion and Learning. (18) For *Aristobulus*, whom I just now mention'd, Preceptor to *Ptolemy Philometor*, 2 *Maccab.* i. 10. and who Flourished about 200 Years after *Plato*, saith of *Pythagoras*, That *He borrowed many things from the Jews*. Which (19) *Josephus* also affirms, That *He knew our way*, and in many Cases complied with it. The other Author saith the same thing of *Plato*, That *He followed our Laws and Institutions* after he had carefully examined and discussed each part of 'em. And it is moreover added, that the (20) *Peripatetick Philosophy*, of which *Aristotle* was the first Introducer, depended on the Law of *Moses*, and other Prophets. As for the Story among some of the *Jews*, That (21) *Aristotle* at the point of death, according to the Lessons he had learnt of the Posterity of *Sem*, taught his Scholars the *Immortality* of the Soul, and the Doctrine of *Rewards* and *Punishments* after this Life; and

(18) *Clem. Alex. Stro.* 5. (19) *Adv. Apion.*
 (20) *Clem. Stro. supra.* (21) *Comment. ad Sepher*
Cozri.

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being instructed by *Simeon the Just* (then High-Priest) he retracted many Points, and show'd himself quite another Man in all matters whatever, wherein he had been opposite to the Law and Principles of the *Hebrews*. Tho' I say, we lay no great stress on this *Tradition*, yet we must not reject that prevailing Opinion among the *Rabbins*, that there was a very close Correspondence between *themselves* and the *Greek Philosophers* in many instances of Knowledge and Discipline; and therefore it seems not strange in *Clement* and *Theodoret* what is said concerning *Pythagoras*, That he was *Circumcised* in *Egypt* after the manner of the *Hebrews*, which is in general terms vouched by (22) *Laertius*, That *He* was initiated into all the *Mysteries* both of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. And *Jamblicus* saith, That conferring with the *Phœnician* and other Priests, *He* was admitted into the most Secret and Sacred Things then used in *Biblus*, *Tyre*, and throughout all *Syria*. *St. Ambrose* saith little less, and affirms it to be the judgment of very many before his time. Then for *Plato*, (23) *Clement* calls him [τὸν ἐξ Ἑβραίων Φιλόσοφον,] one whom the *Hebrews* furnish'd with Philosophy, as they did divers others, who were little better than *Thieves* and *Robbers*, because they were so ungrateful and disingenuous as not to own their *Masters*. *Justin* and *Philoponus* concur with *Clement* concerning *Plato*; and *Theodoret* is positive that he drew his best water out of (24) *Hebrew Cisterns*; and whenever he said well of *God* or his *Worship*, it was owing purely to the *Theology* of the *Jews*. Some will have him to be an Auditor of *Jeremy*,

(22) De Vir. Philos. l. 8. (23) Strom. l. 1. 8 & 6.
 (24) Ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραίων ναμάτων.

which

which Chronology will hardly allow, that Prophet being above an hundred fifty years his Senior, and much nearer the times of *Pythagoras*, who Flourish'd about the *Overthrow* of the Temple, whereas *Plato* appear'd not in the World 'till about the *Restoration*, or Re-building of it. But not to be curious of the *Date*, we are sure of the *Thing* we were speaking of; so sure that *Tertullian* in his *Apology* demands, *What Poet or Sophister among you has not drunk at the Fountain of the Prophets? thence your Philosophers have quenched their thirst, or desire to improve their Wit*—And lest it should be suspected that Christians are partial in giving this account, (25) hear what *Hermippus* an ancient Pagan faith of *Pythagoras*, That He borrowed many things of the Jews concerning the Soul, Blasphemy, &c. and adds, *These things he did and said in imitation of the Jews and Thracians, whose Doctrines he assumed, and made 'em one body with his own Writings*. This Testimony (26) *Origen* remembers, and faith, *We read how Hermippus in his First Book about Law-Makers, asserted that Pythagoras derived his Philosophy from the Jews to the Grecians*. And *Porphry* owns that he not only went to the *Arabians* and *Egyptians*, but also to the *Hebrews* and *Chaldeans* to learn what might be had from 'em; and so by his Travels into these Countries, faith he, he got the better part of his Philosophy. And for *Plato*, 'tis, as I told you, little less than a Proverb, (27) That *Plato* was *Moses* in Greek. And it may be justly affirmed of him, that he stole from *Moses* what he said of God

(25) Apud Josephum.

(26) Adv. Celsum, L. i.

(27) Τίς γάρ ἐστὶ Πλατὼν ἢ Μωσῆς Ἀφικνίζων.

and the World. To these Authorities may be added that of *Clearchus* of *Cyprus*, who reports that he had seen a certain *Jew* with whom *Aristotle* was very familiar. But above all, the Oracle of *Apollo* cannot surely be mistaken, which gave out, *That the Hebrews were well acquainted with many ways of the Gods; Wise-Men Worshipping in an holy manner the Eternal Deity.* And elsewhere *Apollo* calls the *Hebrews* [*ἀριζαντες*,] very *Learned Men*; and therefore that it was the Custom of those Times to apply to 'em, is no marvel, since they found 'em so well able to be their Tutors. And this the great agreement between the (28) *Pythagorean* and *Cabalistical* way among the *Jews* of *disguising* Doctrines further shows. They had their *Symbols*, *Notes* and *Proverbs*, *Numbers* and *Figures*, *Letters*, *Syllables* and *Words*, wherein both Parties were equally Superstitious; and it may be presumed that they learn'd of one another; which is enough I think to answer your Objection out of *Lactantius*, who was not, it seems, throughly informed in what concern'd *Pythagoras* and *Plato*. For these two Philosophers, tho not exclusive of others, yet above all the rest were beholding to the *Hebrews*; altho upon a Principle which too much governs, they were not willing to lessen their own parts, and give those *Originals* their due praises. And of this his Commentator was aware, and thereupon saith, that the *Suffrages* or *Votes* of the *Fathers* go against *Lactantius* in this Point, and he refers you to several Authors who contradict his Opinion.

Thus as to the *Greeks*; Then for the *Romans*, you know it was *their Way* to incorporate all

(28) Vid. Reuchlin de Arte Cabbalist. L. 2.

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Religions into their Own, and Worship those Gods whom before they Conquered. So that the Jews at last becoming Tributary to the Romans, they not only found access into the Empire, but in a little time they began to plant and fill whole Towns with their Families. Scarce any City of good Note in Syria and the Lesser Asia, wherein the Jews were not considerable for their Numbers, and in which they had not Synagogues for their Devotion; and the manner of their Lives, wherein their dispersion had made 'em very circumspect, and the forms of their Worship being once observed, many of the Roman People became well affected to the Jewish Rites; were Circumcised, forbore Swines-Flesh, and observed the Sabbath. (29) Of which Seneca complain'd, and censured his Countrymen for it. And this clears what you offer'd out of Philo; That the whole World had regard to the Sabbath. Not that they knew the Sabbath by the Light of Nature, or had respect to it in the Ages past; but that it was so generally admitted in the days of that Author both at Rome and elsewhere, that on that score it might in some measure deserve the Character; for so (30) Josephus explains him. "The Laws established among us have been followed by all Nations; yea the Common People have long since drawn our Piety into imitation, neither is there any Country, Greek or Barbarian, to which the Rest of our Sabbath-day hath not reached.—So that according to him, tho' many of the Heathens honour'd the Sabbath and some other particulars of the Jewish Worship, yet it was not as recommended by the Law of

(30) *Eo usque sceleratissimæ gentis consuetudo invaluit, &c. Apud Aug. de Civ. Dei. L. 6. c. 11.*

(31.) *Adv. Apion.*

Nature,

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Nature, but as taught by the *Law of Moses*, which they followed and drew into practice. And for the *long since* he speaks of, he means the time between him and *Augustus Cæsar*, who was very favourable to them and their Sabbath, as we see by several *Decrees* made on their behalf. (31) “ *Augustus Cæsar Pontif. Max.* “ *Forasmuch as the Nation of the Jews hath always* “ *been trusty to the Romans, not only at this* “ *Day, but also in former Ages, and especially* “ *in the time of our Father Cæsar the Emperor,* “ *under Hircanus the High-Priest, I have or-* “ *dain'd according to the common judgment of the* “ *Senate, that they shall live after their Country* “ *Laws under which they lived in the time of* “ *Hircanus the High-Priest of God; and that* “ *their Temple shall retain the privilege of a San-* “ *ctuary, and that they shall not be compelled to* “ *appear before any Judge upon their Sabbath-* “ *days, or the Day before their Sabbaths after* “ *Nine a Clock.* Again, “ *Cæsar to Norba-* “ *nus Flaccus Health. Let the Jews where-ever* “ *they live, carry their Sacred Money to Jerusa-* “ *lem according to their old Custom, and let no* “ *Man presume to hinder 'em.* Agrippa also writ to the Magistrates, Senate and People at *Ephesus* on the same subject. “ *I will that the* “ *Jews living in Asia keep their Sacred Money—* And to the *Cyrenean* Magistrates and Senate: “ *The Jews Inhabiting among you, I command* “ *that they be permitted to live after their Cu-* “ *stom.* And to *Syllanus*, “ *That the Jews be* “ *not constrain'd upon their Sabbaths to appear* “ *before any Judge—* And hereupon *Norbanus Flaccus* Proconsul, sends these Instructions to the Magistrates of *Sardinia*; “ *That no Man*

(31) Joseph. Antiq. l. 16. c. 10.

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“ *hinder the Jews to live according to their Custom.* And *Junius Antonius* another Proconsul, dispatches Orders to the Governors of *Ephesus*, “ *That the Jews be allowed to use their Country Customs, according to the Decrees and Ordinances of Cæsar and Agrippa, and do all things as they please according to their Customs.*—I take the more notice of these Indulgences and Decrees which tolerate the *Jews* to exercise their Religion *out* of the limits of the Land of *Palestine*, because we may observe from ’em, that *Augustus*, *Agrippa* and the *Proconsuls* call ’em *their Sabbaths, their Customs, their Country-Customs*, as peculiar to them; and which if known to other Nations, it was chiefly owing to this Favour of the *Roman* Princes, whereby they had freedom of Worship, and an Opportunity to gain Profelytes in those Provinces where they lived upon the temptation and motive of *Novelty* to which Humane Nature is much addicted. But yet whatever their affection was to the *Roman* Government about the Reign of *Augustus*, who gave these Testimonies of the Esteem he had for ’em; They were reckon’d by *Seneca* and others a *Prophane* odd People on the account of their Religion; and in particular, because of the *Sabbath*, He and They very much derided ’em; which had not been, were the *Sabbath* or *Seventh-day* Solemnity the *common Tenet* of all Nations.

I cannot tell what impression this makes on you, but to me it seems more than likely, That neither the *Patriarchs* kept the *Sabbath*, because we have not one word of it in Scripture, nor that the *Greeks* minded it any further than barely to talk of it, as a thing they had met with in their Travels *abroad*, or in their reading
at

at home. And if some of the *Roman Empire* look'd on it with a favourable Eye, it was no earlier than about the *Incarnation* of Christ; and their more Learned Citizens laughed at their Neighbours for respecting *that* or any other of the *Jewish Customs*. And tho' the Ancient *Poets* spake very honourably of a *Seventh Day*, it was not purely on its *own* account, but with regard to their *Apollo*, whose *Birth* they Celebrated on it. And if others did the same, they design'd no Reverence for the *Sabbath-day*, but consider'd it only as a *Mysterious Number*, made remarkably by *Nature*, but no Divine *Institution* sanctifying and requiring it for the Worship of the *Creator*, which is the Sence we must take it in, or else their knowledge of it, if well proved, will signifie little.

B. But does not the *Manna* in the *Wilderness*, before the Law was given, show the *Sabbath* to have an earlier *Institution* than what you are willing to allow it? For it is said, (32) *The People gather'd it Six Days, but on the Seventh-Day, they could not find it. And the Reason was, because the Seventh-Day was an Holy Sabbath unto the Lord. Six Days you shall gather it, but on the Seventh Day which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none. See, the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the Sixth Day the bread of two Days.* So that in this place at least, there is exprefs mention of the *Sabbath*. And the miraculous *Dew* on the ground for all the *Six Days* together, and none on the *Seventh*, plainly demonstrates that God distinguished *that Day* as a time of *Rest* to the People, in which every *Man* was to abide in his place, and none to stir out of his Tent.

(36) Exod. xvi. 23, 26, 29.

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A. This Miracle of the *Manna* is consider'd as a *Preface* to the promulgation of the Law from Mount *Sinai*, and intended to impress the People with the notion of the *Sabbath*, that they might not be surprized afterwards to find it within the *Two Tables*. (33) And peradventure it might serve to *discover* that Day of which the Precept spake, and on which God was said to *rest* from the works of *Creation*. But that it was an Observation altogether *new* we find in *ver. 22*. For notwithstanding the interpretation *Moses* made on the Miracle in behalf of the *Sabbath*, yet the *Princes* and *Rulers* seeing some of the People gathering twice as much *Manna* on the *Sixth Day* as they had got on the Days before, *they came and told Moses*, representing it as a transgression of what was before commanded them; which certainly they would not have done, had they known any thing of the *Sabbath-Day*. And again, *it came to pass there went out some of the People on the Seventh Day to gather, and they found none, ver. 27*. which also bespeaks very little notice of the *Sabbath*, or else the *Day*, as well as *Moses's Order* had hindred their going abroad. And admit the People forgetful and negligent in such cases, and that their Bondage in *Egypt* had obliterated or defaced this Doctrine of the *Seventh Day*, yet the *Great Men* and *Chiefs of Families* cannot be supposed strangers to such a Tradition, but must be privy to those *Archives* and *Records* all Nations preserve of the *ancient times* and *things* concerning themselves, and from which *Moses* is thought to Pen this Book of *Genesis*; and yet these *Princes* were stumbled at the *Sabbath*, as a thing altogether unknown

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to 'em. And further it is said, *ver. 1.* that they came to the *Wilderness* on the 15th Day of the 2d Month. (34) " Now the next Morning to this it rained *Manna*, and so continued every Morning until the 22d, which being the 7th Day, it rained none, and that Day they were commanded to keep the *Sabbath*. Now then if the 22d Day of the Month were the *Sabbath*, therefore the 15th must be the *Sabbath* too, for that was the *Seventh* before it. But the Text saith expressly they marched on that Day a long wearisome March, which shows they did not observe it, and this neglect proves it not kept before. And it is worth our notice, that the day of the Month is never named, unless it be once, for any Station but *this*, where the *Sabbath* was ordained, otherwise it could not have been known, that *That Day* was ordain'd for a *Day of Rest*, which before was *none*. And it is not unlikely, but the word *Remember* afterwards set at the front of the Precept about the *Sabbath*, might be occasion'd by that little concern *Moses* found the People had for it, even at this time, because they still took it for a *late appointment*, tho' asserted by Miracle. And the insinuation of it was, That they were to keep in mind that astonishing supply of Bread from Heaven given 'em by an Almighty and kind Power; and withal *remember* that part of the wonder which related to the Observation of the *Sabbath-Day*, and which that *Law* prescribed 'em.

B. Methinks the most natural meaning of this word [*Remember*] argues for me; because to *remember* a thing, supposes it *known before*; and

(34) Mr. Mede on Ezek. xx. 20.

therefore when God Commanded the Children of *Israel* to *Remember the Sabbath-Day*, the very Language declares it an *ancient Ordinance*, but *forgotten* for some time, and so the *Jews* are hereby quicken'd to the stricter observance of it for the time to come.

A. Undoubtedly the word often refers to the *time past*; as when *Joseph* was in *Egypt*, he *remembered* the Dreams which he had dreamed of his Brethren while he was a Child, and living in *Canaan*, *Gen. xlii. 9.* But this is not the constant use of it, for it sometimes looks *forward*, as in the *Institution* of the *Passover*, and of the Blessed *Sacrament* of the *Lord's-Supper*, both which were appointed *before* the things fell out of which they were to be the *Memorials* to future Ages. This frequently appears in the ordinary Commands we lay on our Servants and Children; when as a sign of our resolution to be obey'd, we bid 'em *remember this* or *that* thing; by which expression our meaning is to *charge their Memories* with what we expect them to do, and to take special care to do it. But then this is no recalling to their minds what they understood before; but, as I said, to make 'em more *heedful* in that particular, be it what it will, or whether we ever heard of it before or no. And so in this place the *Aethiopic* Version renders it pertinently enough, *Observe the Sabbath-Day*; designing by the word *Remember*, nothing more than to *keep it holy*. Yet accepting your interpretation, that it means *looking back*, or a reflection on what was before, it is not necessary the word should signify any great *Antiquity*, or what had been said or done in the Generations of Old; all that can be pretended is, that it casts an eye on what is *past*. And if so, a Man may be said to

remember

remember as well what was done within a few days or a few hours, as what happen'd in the Years or Ages foregoing. And so St. Peter remembered the words of Jesus [before the Cock Crow thou shalt deny me thrice;] yet those words were utter'd not many hours before his Apprehension and Trial. And therefore should we in this Case take the *antecedent time*, we can go no higher than the Miracle of the *Manna* by which the *Sabbath* was notified, and the remembrance of it used as a Motive to make 'em diligently and faithfully keep it.

B. To consider the Subject of the *Seventh-Day*. It is a reflection on the *Wisdom, Power* and *Goodness* of God in the Works of the Creation; and *this* being always *necessary*, 'tis necessary to keep the *Day* which God himself made the *Memorial* of that *Power*, and was appointed a *Day of Rest* for us the better to reflect on those many Wonders he has done on our accounts. Besides, as it is a peculiar Day Sanctified by God, he has made it the *means* of the Divine Blessing; and to lay aside the *means* of Blessings, is to deprive our selves of those Blessings, because we reject the *way* of conveying 'em to us.

A. A thing is *necessary* when we cannot be without it. But tho' to remember the Creation be very necessary, in order to raise in us an admiration of those infinite attributes we must needs discover in God from his producing the World; yet this may be done without the *Seventh-Day*, and therefore this inferrs no necessity to have it continued, because this end may be had without it. We have many other *Memorials* of the Divine Power, and the many Objects which from the Books of *Nature* and *God*, every minute crowd thro' our Senses to the

the Understanding, afford us Lessons enough to teach us this great Truth; and if we had never heard of a *Seventh-Day*, we must have been convinced of the Being of a *Creator*. Yet with regard to the *Jews*, who were to be distinguish'd from the *Gentiles*, besides the *Commandment*, there was an Emphasis laid on the *Day* as a practical Comment on their *Creed*, to signify what they meant by their God, namely *Him who in six Days made Heaven and Earth, &c.* But then this was no more than a Ceremony of distinction which we have no occasion for, and as a Ceremony 'tis in no wise necessary, but we have free liberty either to retain or discharge the use of it.

As to the other thing, That God has made it an *instrument* and *conveyance* of his Blessings. Tho' I confess God uses *means* to bless his People by, yet those *means* are not always the same; and tho' *necessary* at *one* time, they are not so at *another*. *Sabbath* and *Circumcision* were certainly the *instruments* of Gods blessing to the People of *Israel*; But as we do not take our selves obliged to the *latter*, so neither doth the *former* concern us; and as for *that* we have *another* *Sacrament*, so for *this* we have *another* *Day* to honour God with our Worship. Moreover, it is not the *Day*, but the *Service* of the *Day* on which the Sanctification depends; and tho' the Ordinance of God set apart that *particular* *Day*, and made a difference between it and the rest of the *Week*, yet 'tis the *Duties* of the *Day* make it *holy*; and if the *Jews* had no respect to *these*, the *other* hallowing had signified little; and notwithstanding the sanctification of the *Day*, it had gone without the Blessing. And in a word, if this way of arguing has any force, it is only in behalf of the *Sabbatarian*,

batarian, to conclude for that *Seventh-Day* called the *Sabbath*; but is ill apply'd by those who consent to a change from the *last Day* of the Week to the *first*; and makes as much for the rest of the *Jewish Feasts, Sacrifices, Offerings*, and other *Legal Ceremonies* which were made the *means* of Blessings, as well as the *Sabbath*; and by *this* Argument we ought to retain them *all*, or else we hazard the Heavenly Benediction.

B. To detain you no longer in a Point on which you have said enough to make it *doubtful*, we will advance forward, and propose some Reasons, which, I think, are not liable to any exception, and they are such as these. *This Law* about the *Sabbath*, is ranked with the others confessedly *Moral*, and partakes of all the honours and privileges in common with them; it was *written with the Finger of God*, and not in Paper or Parchment, or upon the Leaves of Trees, but in *Tables of Stone*, as the rest were, to denote the *perpetuity* of them (as the *Gentiles* used to engrave their Laws in *Brass*, to show they would always have them inviolably kept) and thereupon it is called the *Eternal* and *Everlasting Sabbath*: It had the same glorious *Promulgation*, the same *Majesty, Terrors*; and all the Circumstances of the other *Nine*; such as *Thundring and Lightning, Sound of the Trumpet, Fire and Smoak*; and pronounced by God's own immediate voice in the Audience of all the People. Nay the Emphasis of *remember* (you just now mentioned) is a Note of special observance, requiring more than ordinary attention and care; and as the (35) *Hebrews* say, *we are bound for ever to remember*

(35) *In primis memoria tenendum est. Vid Mr. Ainsworth in Gen. xiii. 3.*

it. Add, that *this Law* is no where repealed no more than the *others*; and as for that Text of *Paul*, which is the great Proof to lay it by, it speaks of the *other Festivals* of the *Jews*, not *this*, and therefore saith in the plural [*σαββάτων*,] *Sabbaths*, meaning the *Seventh* (36) *Month*, the *Seventh Year*, and the *Jubilee*; not *this Sabbath* of the *Moral Law*, about which we are now discoursing. On the contrary, *Christ* came not (as himself declares) (37) to *destroy the Law*, but to *fulfill it*. And it is very observable, that foretelling the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was not to be till a great many years after his *Ascension*, he bids his *Disciples* pray that (38) *their flight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath-day*. And the Reason was, because if so timed, they might be tempted or forced to some Action tending to *prophane the Day*, which there was no fear of, if it was not to continue *Sacred*, as before. And according to this notion of it, we find our Lord himself observing the *Sabbath-day*, and it was his *custom* to do so. And after this Example, when he was dead, the *Holy Women*, tho' they had prepared *Spices* and *Ointments* to imbalm his Body (a Work of Piety as any Man might think) yet they would not then do it, because it was the *Sabbath*; and therefore (39) *they rested on the Sabbath-day according to the Commandment*. They were *Disciples* to the Lord, and without doubt well instructed in the Duties of Religion after the way of the Gospel; yet they understood nothing to the contrary, but they were to keep *this Day*, as heretofore, in obedience

(36) *Quibus nomen Sabbati aliquando in Scriptura tribuitur.* Curcellæus, *de esu sanguinis.* (36) *Mat. v. 17.*

(38) *Matth. xxiv. 20.*

(39) *Luke xxiii. 56.*

to the Law : They did so, and the *Holy Ghost* commended 'em for it; and not only *they*, but the *Apostles* many years after had it in great esteem, and *Pray'd* and *Preach'd* on it. Even *Paul* himself who seems to call it a *Shadow*, was constant on that Day in the *Synagogues* or in the *Temple*. (40) *He reasoned in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day*; and He so religiously observed it, that for want of these Conveniencies we find him *Praying* (41) by the River side, *because it was the Sabbath*. And long after his decease, a Man must be very ignorant in the History of the Church, if he does not know that it was solemnly honour'd and spent in holy Duties for many years, when there was no Apostle in the World who could pretend *Divine Commission* to repeal and void it. All which either concludes for the morality of the *Sabbath*, or condemns those who so carefully minded it a long while after our Saviour's departure, even when *Jerusalem and the Temple were destroy'd*; and so, if ever, there was a full end of what was *Ceremony* in the Jewish Religion.

A. What you now propose has weight in it; yet I am convinc'd in my self, that you lay no great stress on these proofs, because the strength they have serves only to confirm the *Jewish Saturday Sabbath* which you are ready enough to dismiss, as a thing not very consistent with your *Christian Liberty*. So that your *own practice* confutes what you have said; and your observing the *Lords-Day*, is a demonstration to me, that you have effectually consider'd these Objections already. However

(40) Acts xviii. 4

(41) Acts xvi. 13.

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for Discourse sake, I will a little examine the several parts of your Argument, and see how far the expressions go to establish a *perpetual Sabbath*; and the rather, because you seem to borrow 'em from the Authority of the two Houses of Parliament, who sent 'em by *Sir James Harrington* to *King Charles the First*, in answer to that *Query* his Majesty made 'em concerning *Easter*; which in the King's Opinion, had the same Power for its Establishment with that of the *Lords-Day*, as you heard before.

1. You say then, That the *Fourth Commandment's* being rank'd with the others evidently *Moral*, inferrs the *Sabbath* to be *Moral* likewise, or else it was ill placed among those that were so. This concludes nothing; For in reading other passages of Scripture, we may discover the same intermixture of *Natural* and *Ceremonial* Precepts, as (42) where *Peace Offerings* and *things strangled* and *blood* are put with *Fornication* and *Image-worship*; yet I dare say no body will go about to make these Duties stand upon the level, and assert 'em all *Moral*, tho' in the same Verses they are joyn'd together.

2. That *this Law*, as well as the rest, was *written in Stone*, inforces not the *perpetual* obligation of it, no more than do the other Ordinances of *Moses*, all which *Joshua* (43) writ on *Stones* in the presence of the *Children of Israel*. Among these a great number were *Ceremonial*, as is agreed on all hands; and by this Argument of yours, *these* also were to be *Eternal* as well as the others. But the truth is, This was

(42) *Levit. xix. 4, 5. Acts xv. 29.*
viii. 32.

(43) *Joshua*

by way of *Emblem*, (44) To signifie the *hard hearts* of the *Jews*, who were heavy and dull, as the Prophet informs us, *Ezek. xi. 19.* And the insinuation was that they should not immediately forget what he set before 'em, but shew a careful and conscientious obedience to those *Laws*, which for their better (45) remembrance he had ordred to be ingraven in *Tables of Stone*, that the sight might affect 'em, and make an impression on their *Hearts* answerable to those *lasting Characters* they found in the *Marble*.

3. And this was all the *Thunder* and *Lightning* aim'd at, To create the greater *Awe* and *Reverence* to what was then delivered, and induce 'em to shew more respect to these *Laws*, because of the *Solemnity* then used to divulge and proclaim 'em. But then a great many *Precepts*, besides these of the *Two Tables* were publish'd at the *same time*, and with the *same Ceremony*, which yet are not insisted on, nor is that *Solemnity* thought sufficient to make them *Moral*.

4. As for *God's speaking these words*, so he spake the *others* which followed, and probably might have done it with the same kind of *Voice*, but that the *People's fear* made 'em request *Moses*, that *God* would be pleas'd to do it rather by his *Mediation*. And yet perhaps *God* himself spake in *neither* place, but used the *Ministry of Angels*, if *St. Stephen* saith true, *Acts vii. 38, 53.* Where that *Martyr* giving

(44) *Ad significandum cor lapideum judæorum qui erant stupidi, hebetes & lapidei, Isidor.* (45) *Dedit eam [legem] scriptam lapideis tabulis ad oblivionem evertendam. A Lapid. in Exod. xxxi.*

an account of *Moses*, declares of him, that *this is he that was in the Church in the WilderNESS, with the Angel that spake to him in Mount Sinai.* And tho' it is said *God spake these words,* it is, (46) as when a *Judge* may be said to pronounce the *Decree*, tho' he does it by the *Cryer*; yet it is not taken for the *Cryer's Decree*, but the *Judge's*, who bids him Proclaim it.

5. And in this sence may be understood the Two Tables being *written with the Finger of God*; not so *strictly*, but by *God's Spirit*, by *Moses*, or an *Angel*, at his *Order*. As where *St. Luke* represents *Christ* speaking, (47) *If I by the Finger of God cast out Devils.*—*St. Matthew* explains it thus: (48) *If I by the Spirit of God*—as if it were the *same thing*; and this a *Man inspired* may do, and *Christ*, as *Man*, did it. In Reading Scripture therefore we are to consider many things spoken in a way of *accommodation*, or else we shall run our selves into gross absurdities by adhering too much to the Letter, as in these instances we are upon: *God spake* and *God writ with his Finger*; which must not be rigorously taken after the sound of the Expressions, because God has neither *Finger* nor *Voice* in that sence which we apply to Men; yet when God makes use of Instruments for *Speech* or *Action*, his Commission Intitles him to what is *said* or *done*, whether *Moses* or any other Holy Man be the *Organ* to make it known.

6. The same care is to be used in the examining of the importance of that word *Eternal* which you fix on the *Sabbath*, and by virtue of

(46) August. adv. Manic.
(48) Matth. xii. 28.

(47) Luke xi. 20.

which you conceive it was to last for ever; because it is said, *the Children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath throughout their Generations for a perpetual Covenant.* But the word in the Hebrew is variously translated according to the nature of the matter in hand. For sometimes indeed it signifies an *absolute perpetuity*, but in many cases no more than some *remarkable period*, which not being come, there was to be no alteration of the thing, whatever happen'd to be the subject of the Question. Thus the *Truth of God is to endure for ever. God is everlasting, eternal, and the like.* And these places mean a *perpetual duration* without bounds, without end; not so much from the bare propriety and sound of the word it self, as from the *necessary existence* of the *Divine Nature* to which it is applied. But where it is said, (49) *Circumcision is an everlasting Covenant*, and (50) *the Land of Canaan shall be an everlasting Possession.* Here one *everlasting* must explain the other, and both are to be no otherwise understood than for a *certain term* of years, at the expiring of which *Circumcision* was to have an end as well as their *Possession of the Land of Canaan*, which we know the *Jews* have lost for many Ages. And so God promises *David* and *Solomon*, (51) *in this House and in Jerusalem which I have chosen out of all the Tribes of Israel will I put my Name for ever.* And yet now what is become of this *Jerusalem*, and this *House*, this *Temple*? So in the former ruins of that City in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar* it is called a (52) *a perpetual desolation*, yet that *perpetuity* was restrain'd to a few years; this

(49) Gen. xvii. 7. (50) Gen. xvii. 8. (51)
2 Kings xxi. 7. (52) Jerem. xxv. 9, 11.

whole Nation shall be a desolation and astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babylon Seventy years. In the Law it was directed that the Servant should have his (53) Ear bored with an Awl, and then serve his Master for ever. Which ever could extend it self no farther than the (54) Jubilee, when all sorts of Service had its utmost period. And with this limitation is that purpose of *Hannah*, that *Samuel* her Son (55) should abide before the Lord for ever: i. e. as she a little before expresses her self, all the days of his life, or to his (56) fiftieth Year, after which the Levites were to serve no more. And after this manner the (57) Poets speak and Schoolmen, who say, That God will punish the wicked during his Eternity, for sinning against him during theirs; i. e. they who are impious all their Life time, shall be damned for ever. So that hereby we see, that the same word is differently applied according to the capacity of the matter treated of, and that the Epithet *Eternal* is often joined to things very short of Eternity, and intends sometimes fifty, sometimes seventy years, and more frequently not so many, in case a Man does not live so long. And thus the Rabbins themselves qualifie the term as appears by their way of computation, wherein they make three Epochas, before, under and after the Law or Government of *Messias*, and to each of these they assign two thousand years. And they are of Opinion that when *Messias* doth come, there will immediately thereupon ensue a wonder-

(53) Exod. xxi. 6.

(54) Levit. xxv. 41.

(55) 1 Sam. i. 22, 11.

(56) Numb. viii. 25.

(57) *Serviet aeternum qui parvum nesciet uti*—Horace.
Non potest in aeternum absolute servire, cujus vita qua servit aeterna esse non potest. A Lap.

ful change in the state of things, and a new *day* commence, which will put a period to many Services they hitherto retain, and which we, on their Principles, have thought fit to set aside, because we believe that *Revolution* and the *Messias* already come. All which gives us light enough to see what is proposed to us in the *Eternity of the Sabbath*, which can signify only a certain period, as *Circumcision*, the *Temple*, the *Jews* possessing the *Land of Canaan* had, whose everlasting was to continue for such or such a time, and then to have an end. And this way, that seeming contradiction of some Christian Doctors may be easily reconciled, who call the Sabbath both *Temporale & Aeternum*, being so far *Eternal* as to last its time appointed, but not to be for ever.

7. As for the *remember* in this Commandment, it admits of an interpretation quite different from what you make, and seems to lessen the dignity of the Precept instead of advancing it to the condition of the other Nine. (58) For whereas naturally the Conscience is well instructed in the matter of the other Duties, and thereupon no occasion to insert any caution or reason why they should not Kill, nor Steal, nor Commit Adultery, nor Covet, the obligation of these Precepts and the necessity of observing 'em being always obvious to the understanding of every Man: The Law of the Sabbath was of another quality, and had so little power to ingage the Conscience before this Institution, that had it not been for the Authority of the Law-maker, and the Penalties on

(58) Sabbati præceptio non est à naturæ necessitate ut reliqua præcepta quæ menti insita, ut per se, cognita sunt, sed *ἡ ἐκ τῆς συνθήκης* ex voluntate dei. Synops. purioris Theol.

the breach of it, we had no more heard of the Sabbath *after Moses* than we did *before* him. And therefore because *this Law* was not written in *their hearts*, as were the *others*, that defect was supplied with *remember the Sabbath Day*. And to fasten it in their memories, two Reasons were subjoin'd, *one* concerning the *Creation*, as set down in the Commandment it self, the *other* in the *Preface* concerning their *deliverance* out of the *Egyptian Bondage*; otherwise it might have took up no more room in their *brains* now, than it did in their *hearts* before, but ran a great hazard of being forgotten. And this I take to be the most proper inference to be made from the word, which bespeaks this Precept to be a *positive Law*, and not, like the rest, an *eternal Law of Nature*. But to proceed :

You argue that *this Law* is no where *repeal'd*; and consequently, supposing it a *positive Precept*, yet coming immediately from God, it came with an *unalterable Obligation*, unless the *Law-giver* himself does in as evident a way *cancell*, as he did once *establish* it. And for the proof of this *Non-repeal*, you alledge, that what St. Paul calls a *shadow*, is not *this Sabbath*, because *there* he speaks in the *plural*. And Christ declares solemnly before his Auditory (59) that *he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it*; and as an illustration of this his intention, he observed the *Sabbath-Day* during the whole course of his *Life*; and after his death, the *Holy Matrons* and *Apostles* kept it Sacred, as some Christians do to this day.

To which we Answer,

8. First, St. Paul's *plural* [*Σαββάτων*] is

(59) Matth. v. 17.

conformable to the Language of Scripture in many other Texts, where there is occasion to mention *this Sabbath*. *Jesus went on the* [Sabbaths] Matth. xii. 1. *And straitway on the* [Sabbaths] *he entred into the Synagogue* — Mark i. 21. Luke iv. 16. Acts xiii. 14. In all which and more places, the *Plural* is used, and they still mean the *Sabbath-day* (as we translate it in the *Singular*) or every *Seventh-day* at the end of the Week, and therefore this way of Speech can be no objection.

9. That *Christ* observed the *Sabbath*, and on that day frequented the *Synagogues*, cannot be denied; and he did it for the reasons you give, because *he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it*; which *Law* he could not be said to fulfill, unless he had kept the *Sabbath* as a very considerable branch of it. He was not, tho' sometimes charged with it, any *Enemy* to the Law of *Moses* under what distinction soever. (60) Nor would he be thought to pull asunder that former *Fabrick* under the Old Testament, but to improve and make it *better* than it was before. The alteration he intended was only to reform, not to take down the House, but to repair and beautifie it. His design was amendment, to give 'em *Substances* instead of *Shadows*, and set before 'em the signification of all the *Types* under the *Oeconomy* of the *Jews*, which in reality he no more destroy'd, than a *Painter* may be said to destroy the *first Lineaments* of a Face which he doth not erase, but add more strokes to perfect the Picture. This is seen in his *Divine Sermon* on the Mount, wherein he not only corrects the abuses of the Law, and recovers it from the dangerous

(60) Vid. Dr. Hammond's Annot. in loc.

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Glosses of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, but he furnishes it with a more (61) Noble and sublime sence than it had hitherto been taken in, and proposes more suitable Rewards to *invite*, and more proper Punishments to *frighten* 'em to Obedience. And both ways instead of *Temporal* Motives He prescribes *Eternal*. Thus when the *Ancients* said, *thou shalt love thy Neighbour and hate thy Enemy*; He saith, *Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, &c.* And whereas it was written, *thou shalt not kill*. He saith, *thou shalt not hate*, because even that is murther in the *intention*. It is said *thou shalt not commit Adultery*, but he extends the Precept further, *thou shalt not lust after a Woman*, because as to thee that very thought defiles her. So that he calls for not only *clean hands*, but *pure hearts*, and will not suffer so much as a *sinfull desire*. In a word, the *Old Testament* made Laws for the *hands*, the *New* for the *heart*; *That* regulated the *Actions*, *This* the *Thought*. And therefore this Superstructure or Addition to the Law of *Moses* sufficiently clears our Lord of the Article of Innovation, and we find him so far from destroying the Law, that according to the Metaphor in the word he *fulfils* it, or gives it better measure than it had before.

But besides this *refinement* of the *Moral Law*, there were many passages in *Moses's* Writings, and in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms* which related to Christ, (62) and *these must be accomplished or fulfilled*, saith he himself, and then adds, that this being done, *they have an end*.

(61) *Explicatius & perfectius docuit*. A Lap. in loc.

(62) Luke xxii. 37. & xxiv. 44.

(63) Indeed

(63) Indeed most things of the Law of *Moses* were *Prophetical*, and either in word or figure imported somewhat concerning *Messias* to come. Now a *Prophecy* or a *Prophetick-Law* is accomplished, when that is done which either *expresly* or *covertly* foretold what should happen. And therefore our Lord appearing and actually making good all those instances which were the matter of such Predictions, either in his Life-time, or at and after his death: This may be understood a plain repeal of all those *Ordinances* which had an eye to him, and *implendo veritatem*, or doing the things foretold, he made the *Figure* for the future of no effect. And to this agrees that Saying of his, (64) *Not one jot or tittle shall pass from the Law till all be fulfilled, 'till all be done*, but then when done, or fulfilled, that Law, you see, was to continue no longer; and when these things were accomplished, they were to have an end. (65) *Not to destroy them does not mean, not to abrogate the Law, but not to transgress it*. And to void it at the time unto which it was made a Law, this is no violation or injury done it, because it was the intention of the Law-Maker it should be in force to that Date, but not after. So that *Christ* fulfilling all the righteousness of the Law of *Moses*, and accomplishing every particular in his own Person which the Law required, or the Prophets foretold of him: Here are two things for the annulling of Laws (66) first the rea-

(63) *Tota lex & ceremonia leuiticæ figura fuerunt Messia.* Chemnit. Harm. c. 51. (64) *Matth. xv. 18. Non dicit, hæc non transibunt simpliciter, sed non transibunt donec omnia fiant.* Alex. Hales. (65) *Qui implet non destruit.* Chemnit. vid. Suarez de leg. (66) *Causa cessatio & tempus.* Justinian.

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son of the Law ceaseth; and secondly, the time of it is expired, which are look'd upon to be warrants enough to neglect any *Decree* or *Statute* for the time to come, tho' there should be no formal and expresse mention of such repeal. Moreover there was to be at Christ's Coming (67) [*Nova Constitutio*] a new Covenant, for behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new Covenant with the House of Israel, and the House of Judah—and I will put my Law in their inward parts, and [instead of Tables of Stone] write it in their hearts. This was a Prophecy of the State of Religion under the Gospel, wherein there was to be another Condition very different from that which Moses made at the Peoples departure out of Egypt, and when they were to be govern'd by such Laws, as were not written on Skins, or such materials then in use, but on the Minds of Christians by the Spirit of God, as it afterwards fell out on the Day of Pentecost. From hence therefore the Apostle argues, (68) in that he saith a New Covenant he hath made the first old; and that which waxeth old is ready to vanish away, i. e. to be abrogated and exploded when the Covenant was established of which he there speaks.

For this End, saith Bucer, he cites the Testimony of Jeremy, to shew That the Legal Priest-hood with all its Ceremonies and Rites were now abolished; because when a new Covenant commences, the old of consequence must take its leave of us. The same Apostle further proves this, where he thus delivers

(67) Jerem. xxxi. 31.

(68) Heb. viii. 13.

himself;

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himself; (69) *The Priesthood being changed, there is made also a necessity to change the Law,* (70) because the *Priesthood* is suited to that *Law*: and that Office being before limited to the *Tribe of Levi*, but now translated to the *Tribe of Judah*, is a *sign* that the *Law of Moses* is become *void*; for as much as by that *Law* none of the *latter Tribe* were to be admitted to the *Priesthood*; and consequently, either *Christ* was not an *High-Priest* (which this Author saith he was, *Ch. vi. 20.*) because he was of the *Tribe of Judah*, of which *Tribe Moses* spake nothing concerning *Priesthood*, or else the obligation of that *Law* is over, seeing we have no longer the *Levitical Priesthood*, but do assert *Jesus* the *Mediator of a new and better Covenant*, and far more excellent than what concern'd the *Jew*.

10. Now because (71) the *Apostle* saith, and *Experience* shews it, That no *Testament* is of force till the death of the *Testator*, and that our *Lord* did no otherwise destroy the old *Law*, than by fulfilling it, and putting an end to the former *Covenant* by introducing a new. Therefore if the *Holy Women* on the death of *Christ* rested on the *Sabbath-day* according to the commandment, it is not to be much admired. Because the *Law of the Sabbath* not being repealed by any (72) *Publick Act* or plain Sentence of the *Law-maker*, they could not presently tell whether they were

(69) Heb. vii. 12. (70) *Quia Sacerdotium legi proportionatum & cum ea indissolubiliter connexum. A Lap. in Heb.* (71) Heb. ix. 16. (72) *Legis regula tunc demum civibus applicatur quando per publicationem venit in eorum notitiam. Aquil. Q. 90. Art. 4. & in Jacob. 5.*

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still obliged to keep it or no. This was the very next day after our Lord's Crucifixion. The thing was *New*. They had not time to consider. The impression of the *ancient Sabbath* was kept in their Hearts and Memories. Their veneration for it great. The Laws for not keeping of it very severe. So that hitherto *fear and Conscience* called for their compliance, especially the *declaration* of its *repeal* being not yet made, or at least not so full and clear, as to perswade 'em to abandon an *Old Holy Custom* which they had found their Master always respecting, and which they were bred up in ever since they were Children.

11. As for those words of Christ, *pray that your flight be not on the Sabbath-day*; which seems to continue the obligation of it 'till the destruction of *Jerusalem* about 40 years after, or else why not take their flight on *that Day* as well as any *other* without offence to Conscience? (73) The general Opinion is, that our Lord's Discourse was directed to the *Jews*, who on *that Day* would not *fight* or *fly* in any Case whatever, as we see in *1 Mac. i. 34*. But suppose the utmost, That he spake of *such* who were *Converts* to Christianity, and who living at *Jerusalem* when the City was destroyed, might use the same Prayer for this reason, because, tho' their own Principles did allow 'em to flee on the *Sabbath-day*, (74) yet considering that most of the *Jewish Nation* were of another mind, and made it an abominable fault and Prophanation of the Festival,

(73) *Christus loquitur de Judeis. A Lap. Loquitur de Judeis. Gerhard. and so St. Chrysostom. (74) Religione publica impediabantur longius abire. Aretius.*

to attempt and execute any such thing, even these must needs be involved in the common Calamity, because should they go about to flee out of the City, or in their flight exceed a Sabbath-days-journey, (75) consisting of two Miles or thereabouts, the Jews would certainly look on 'em as Transgressors of their Law, and thereupon stone 'em in case they could avoid the Besiegers Army. And therefore this Text no further proposes the notion of the Sabbath, than to make it an unhappy Circumstance to aggravate the miseries of those Days, wherein the Jews would neither flee themselves on a nicety of Conscience, nor suffer the Christians to flee, tho' without injury to their Principles. So that I conclude this with the words of Dr. Prideaux; (76) "That 'tis
 "ridiculous for any to argue for a confirmation
 "of the Sabbath from these words which Christ
 "foretold as an inconvenience that would arise
 "from the Superstition of the Jewish People.

12. But the last part of your Argument seems to oppose this; Because you have observed out of Ecclesiastical History, that Christians both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, have kept the Sabbath in a very solemn manner, and it may be supposed done on a Principle too. It concerns us therefore to examine that Practice and the Reasons they went on to continue the Custom, so many years after the date of our Liberty. The practice is undeniable; For so (77) Socrates tells us;
 "That all Churches over the World, excepting
 "those of Alexandria and Rome, set apart as

(75) Vid. Selden de jure natural. l. 3. c. 9.
 (76) De Sab. Orat. (77) Lib. 5. c. 22.

“ well Saturday as Sunday for Religious Uses,
 “ even the Egyptians, and those who dwelt at
 “ Thebais Borderers on Alexandria complied,
 “ and had on both Days Prayers and Collections.
 (78) Sozomen has the same exception of Rome
 and Alexandria, but “ all or most of the other
 “ Churches carefully observed the Sabbath. And
 so great stress was laid on keeping it, that
 Gregory Nyssen expostulates thus ; “ With
 “ what Eyes can you behold the Lords-Day,
 “ when you despise the Sabbath, do you not per-
 “ ceive they are Sisters, and that in slighting
 “ the one, you affront the other ? And as Sisters,
 we find ’em go hand in hand in the Ecclesia-
 stical Canons. (79) “ If any Clergy-Man be
 “ found Fasting on the Lords-Day, or the Sab-
 “ bath, let him be suspended. And in the 6th
 Council in Trullo, (†) the Canon obliges all
 People to Fast throughout Lent, except on the
 Sabbath and the Lords-day. And so they are
 joyn’d together in the 49 and 51 Canons of
 the Council of Laodicea. But the words of
 St. Ignatius are very severe ; (80) “ If any
 “ one fasts on the Lords-day or the Sabbath,
 “ (unless that before Easter, which Balsamon,
 “ Aristenus and others call the great Sabbath)
 “ he murders Christ again. And no wonder
 it was so strictly observed, seeing we find it
 among the Constitutions of the Church (81)
 in St. Clement, that we “ Celebrate as Festivals
 “ the Sabbath, and the Lords-day ; because, as
 the reason follows, this is done in remem-
 brance of the Resurrection, and that of the

(78) Lib. 7. c. 19. (79) Canon. 66. Apost.
 (†) Can. 52. (80) Ep. ad Philip. (81) L. 7.
 c. 23. & L. 8. c. 33.

Creation. And elsewhere the same Author makes both, Days of Rest, that so Servants may have opportunity to repair to Church to hear and learn the Duties of Religion. And in summe, The Holy Fathers saith Balsamon, made the Sabbath and the Lords-day to stand on the same ground, and they were equally respected in Ancient times. And tho' in the Western-Church especially, this Custom wore off by degrees, and is now altogether laid by, yet still there are some marks of it in other places, as among the *Aethiopians*, *Melchite* and *Abyssins*, as (82) as *Brerewood* informs us; and (83) *Sca- liger* saith, they call both days by the Name of Sabbath, the first and the latter Sabbath; or in their Language, the one Sanbath Sachristos, Christs-Sabbath, the other Sanbath Judi, the Jews-Sabbath.

We must yield therefore that the *Primitive Christians* had a great veneration for the Sabbath, and spent the Day in Devotion and Sermons. And 'tis not to be doubted but they derived this Practice from the *Apostles* themselves, as appears (84) by several Scriptures to that purpose; who keeping both that Day and the first of the Week, gave occasion to the succeeding Ages to join 'em together, and make it one Festival, tho' there was not the same reason for the continuance of the Custom, as there was to begin it. The Church had to do with two sorts of People; and her Edification did much depend on their Conversion, Jews and Gentiles; and therefore such a me-

(82) Tract. Div. Lin. & Relig. Temp. (83) De Emend. (84) Acts xiii. 14. xvi. 13. xviii. 4.

thod was to be taken, as would be, in all appearance, most serviceable to that *End*, and conduce to save 'em. That then *both* these might have good opportunities to hear the Doctrine of the Gospel, 'twas found necessary the Apostles should Preach on *both those Days*; and being to deal with the *Jews* on the one hand, they assembled with them on *that Day* which *they* dedicated to the reading of *Moses* and the *Prophets*; and being willing on the other to oblige the *Gentiles*, they pitched on a *Day* more safe for *them*, (85) because it was Capital for *Greeks* and *Romans* then to show any regard to the *Jewish Sabbath*, or any other of their Ceremonies; and so by reason of that heavy Penalty, tho' they might be tempted on *other Days* to be present at their Meetings, yet to be sure they would not be *on this*.

B. If this be true, that it was so great a Crime for the *Gentiles* to show any conformity to the way of Worship among the *Jews*, and that it was as much as their Lives were worth to respect the *Sabbath*, then how comes it about we read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, xiii. 42. that the *Gentiles* besought *Paul* and *Barnabas* to Preach to them the *next Sabbath*?

A. The word [*ἔθνῃ*] *Gentiles*, is not in some *Greek* Editions; and accordingly the old *Latin* Translation saith only [*rogabant*] *they besought*; so do the *Syriack* and *Æthiopick* Versions, meaning the *Jews* before-named; and thereupon the *Arabick* saith expressly, *some of*

(85) *Satis notum est capitale esse Græcis & Romanis Sabbatum celebrare vel suscipere ritus judaicos.* Calvin in *Acts* xvi. 13.

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the Synagogue of the Jews besought 'em. But letting it keep its place, the word signifies *multitude*, and is explained by the other Greek word [*τὰς ὄχλους,*] *ver. 45.* Yet, if we must make it a term of distinction, it means only such of the *Gentiles* as were (86) *Converts* to the Jewish Religion, and are called *Religious Profelytes*, *ver. 43.* and who as *Jews* now, rather than *Greeks* and *Romans* might consort and Pray with 'em. However that it was done with great *caution* and some *concern* we find by the matter of the request, which was, That the Apostles would Preach to 'em *some Day between this and the next Sabbath*, for that is the strict translation of the Greek (87) *some time between the Sabbaths*, suppose the next day, or other day after; all which days among the Jews were called *Sabbath*, as well as the day on which they Worshipped. Which not only expounds this verse, but may be the sense of the 44th, that *almost the whole City the next Sabbath, i. e. the day following came together to hear the word of God.* And this might well cause so much Envy in the *Jews*, in *v. 45.* not only because vast *Companies* came to hear the Apostles Preach, but because it was on such Days as brought some disrespect to their famous *Sabbath*, on which and no other Day of the Week, they would have such Meetings. to be held. But to proceed to the Reasons the Apostles went upon to observe the *Sabbath-Day*.

It was an ordinary Charge against the *Apostles*, that they were *Innovators* and the Authors

(86) *Eos nimirum è gentibus qui judaizabant ideoque cœtus judaicos frequentabant.* Beza. (87) Ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον, οἱ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ σαββάτων χρόνῳ.

or Abettors of a *New Religion*. Upon this account therefore the Holy Men thought it expedient to deliver their Sermons *openly* at *stated times*, and in those *Publick Places* where the *Jews* assembled, to clear themselves of that accusation, and to show the whole World, and the *Jews* in particular, that the Doctrine they taught was able to abide the Test, and that *they said no other things than what Moses and the Prophets did say should come*.

Nor is it to be omitted, that they could do no less in point of (88) *decency*, to shew thereby some reverence to the *Law and the Fathers*, with whom they had dealt a little too familiarly, had they dismiss'd *them* and that *constitution* too suddenly, which God himself made with so much *Ceremony*, and frequently confirm'd by variety of *Miracles*, and other instances of his Power; and therefore if it was now at last *Dead*, it certainly deserved from them a very honourable *Burial*.

And the Motive was great in point of *Charity*, and that tenderness we ought to have for *weak Brethren*; who not so soon nor so well apprehending the reason of laying aside the *ancient way* of Worship, would have taken prejudice against the Apostles, and hindered the advancement of the Gospel; and is the true cause of that compliance St. Paul every where shew'd in the discharge of his Ministry. For, as he speaks, *tho' I be free from all Men, yet have I made my self Servant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the*

(88) *Ceremonia veteres sepelienda erant cum aliquo honore. Calvin, in Acts xv.*

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Jews I became a Jew, &c. (89) I am made all things to all Men, that I might gain some; and this I do for the Gospels sake. Thus he personates all sorts of Men, to win some of 'em to Christianity.

And lastly, the Peace of the Church was the better preserved by this means; for the *Jews* were naturally a fowre and turbulent People, and could ill bear a *Change* in any of their *Rites*, much less in *this* of the *Sabbath*; and rather than have seen it hurried out of the World in haste, (as the Apostles might have forthwith rejected it by virtue of their Christian Liberty) they would have been all in an uprore (even those who were in other respects well-wishers to the Gospel); and so instead of bringing some over, and confirming others in the Christian Religion, this unseasonable and indiscreet Zeal had certainly made 'em more prejudiced and bitter against it, and the Gospel had been preached in vain.

Upon these *Prudential* Reasons the Apostles and their followers went in indulging their Brethren the *Jews* by observing the *Sabbath*. But then in all these respects they made it only an *indifferent thing*, which they had power to use or to let alone. The Legal force of it they consider'd gone, and if they still kept it, it was by discretion for *Peace* and *Charity's* sake, to keep fair with their Countrymen in order to save 'em. But all this was occasional. It was not *their own Day*, not the *Set Day* of their Devotion, not the *Day* which they Dedicated

(89) *Omnium infirmitatibus se accommodavit.* A Lap. in loc. 1 Cor. ix. 19.

to the use of their Religion ; not their *Lords-Day*, tho' they made it a *Day* of Worship and an opportunity to teach the People then assembled by *Custom*.

And this helps to explain that passage of *St. Luke* concerning *St. Paul*, (90) *who hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the Day of Pentecost.* (91) "*What means this haste, saith St. Chrysostom, did he lie under any obligation to keep that Festival, that he shew'd so much earnestness and zeal to get timely to Jerusalem? No, it was not so much because of the Feast, as because of the multitudes of People resorting thither, and for their sakes he hasted that he might be able to Preach the word to 'em.* In other respects *Jerusalem* to him was no more than *Athens*, nor the *Temple* than *Areopagus* or *Mars's-Hill*. With the same mind he frequented the *Synagogues* of the *Jews*, and the *Schools* of the *Gentiles*. In the one he incountred the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and in the other the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* ; and in both he disputed about *Jesus* and the *Resurrection*. So that it was not the bare Celebration of the Festival it self, but *their Conversion* who came to Celebrate it, made the Holy Man hasten to *Jerusalem*. And while he had hopes to succeed in this good design, he was constantly present at all their Meetings both in the City and elsewhere. But this hope failing, and that he found the *Jews* hardned, and (92) making it their business to blaspheme and speak evil of that way before the multitude, he departed

(90) *Acts* xx. 16. (91) *Homil. in Act. Vid. Marlorat. in loc.* (92) *Acts* xviii. 6. xix. 9.

from them, and separated the Disciples, shaking his raiment, and saying unto them, your blood be on your own heads, I am clean, from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles—they are his own words; and 'tis supposed from that time forward he was never seen in a Synagogue.

But for the further illustration of this Point, we will take a view of the Article of *Circumcision*, and then apply the *Sabbath*.

How much *St. Paul* cries down *Circumcision* we every where see in his Epistles. (93) *Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing; the Reason follows, because he that is Circumcised becomes a debtor to the whole Law. Which Law being opposed to Grace, to be obliged to the one by the act of Circumcision, was to render the other of no effect, as he speaks a little after. But tho' this St. Paul out of his great Zeal and fervency of Spirit threatens Thunderbolts to the observers of Circumcision, he himself for all this will have (94) Timothy Circumcised, and by that compliance seemingly contradicts and confutes his own Doctrine. But then, as Tertullian excuses it, he had regard to Times and Persons; and therefore he thought fit to Circumcise Timothy, because they all knew his Father was a Greek; so that this was done for conveniency sake, lest otherwise the Jews should reject his Ministry, knowing on his Father's account that he had never been Circumcised; and not being fa-*

(93) Gal. v. 2, 4. *Circumcisio est quædam protestatio legis implende.* Aquil. 3d. Q. 40. A. 4. (94) Acts xvi. 3.

tified yet that the obligation of it was at an end.

But then this *Circumcising* of *Timothy* was not reputed *necessary*, tho' the present state of things made it *expedient* to be done. There was no stress laid on the *Ceremony* any further than that it prevented *scandal*. (95) It was not received as a *Sacrament* by *Timothy*, nor so proposed by *St. Paul*. It was only to make way for the Gospel, which *Timothy*, as a *Minister* was to Preach unto 'em, but which they had slighted, had he not been thus qualified and provided for that Function.

And that *Circumcision* was now brought to that *indifferency*, that it might be *done* or *let alone*, as most tended to *Edification*, is very evident from what afterwards fell out in the Person of *Titus* who was a *Greek* as well as *Timothy*: yet tho' *St. Paul* would have the *one Circumcised*, he would not give way to *Circumcise the other*. And the reason was, because the *scandal* he avoided by *circumcising Timothy*, he had now run into by suffering *Titus* to be *Circumcised*. For there were (96) *false Brethren*, as he speaks, who much press'd the doing of it, on purpose and with design to accuse him before the *Gentiles* for Preaching one thing and doing another; or that he *recanted* what he had taught before. This being the Case, and that these Men urged *Circumcision* with more vehemence and earnestness than comported with the nature of an *indifferent thing*, such as He now took *Circumcision* for,

(95) *Non spe salutis sed pice Ecclesiæ. P. Mart. loc. com. Non fuit Sacramentum quale datum Abraha. Calvin.*
 (96) *Improbi exploratores. Bulling. in Gal.*

this made him as zealous on his side to oppose it; and tho' at another time and on another occasion he was ready to do it, yet as matters now stood, he did not think it proper to give way to his Adversaries, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue.

He Circumcised Timothy therefore to avoid scandal; and he would not suffer Titus to be circumcised to avoid the same scandal. The End was one and the same, tho' he express'd himself differently, but both resulted from his Christian Liberty; and he was neither way obliged, but as it consisted with Prudence and Charity. For hitherto all those Legal Rites, (97) tho' mortua, they were not mortifera; and as they were dead Ceremonies they might be laid by, or be buried, yet not being deadly, and bringing at this time no danger to Christianity, they might be still used, and were used by St. Paul and the other Apostles, as far as they contributed to Edification and Peace.

It was from this Liberty the Apostles used the first Day of the Week out of Choice, and retain'd the last out of Charity. They kept the Sabbath as they would do any other Festival of their own making, wherein they might have a good opportunity to teach and propagate the Gospel. They used it as they did Purifying and Circumcision, to prevent disorder, and to keep a good understanding between them and their Brethren.

These were their Reasons for observing the Sabbath; this was their sence of it; and in process of time, these Reasons ceasing, yet the

(97) A Lap. ex August.

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Authority and Practice of those Great Men became a *Reason* to the following Generations; and thence it was we have the account before given of it in the ancient Writers. However this is observable, that due care was taken to keep the Church from *Judaizing* in this or any other particular, as appears in that reason *Constantine* the Great gives about the alteration of *Easter-Day*; (98) “ That we may have
 “ nothing to do in common with that spiteful
 “ People the Jews. For how can they have one
 “ good thought who slew Christ, and after that
 “ murder are like Madmen acted with Frenzy—
 “ You ought to take heed never to imitate that
 “ People. For in so doing (as *Valesius* comments on the place) you make your selves partakers of that villany which the Jews did on our
 “ Lord—(99) This is the reason *Justin Martyr* gives, why the Gentile converts observe not the Sabbath, “ lest thereby they should
 “ be thought to be Jews under another name.
 (100) This made the *Ecclesiastical Canons* twice forbid this compliance. (101) And tho’ the Council of *Laodicea* permits *Christians* to assemble on the *Jewish Sabbath* to hear the word of God, yet they must do it as *Christians*, otherwise they are liable to Excommunication; so dangerous correspondence is with such Men who are mortal Enemies to us and our Religion. And that our Fathers look’d on the Sabbath as an indifferent thing, we may partly guess from the usage they gave it, making it as

(91) Euseb. de vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 18. Can. 11.
 Conc. Sexti in Trullo. (99) Dialog. cum Trypho.
 (100) Can. vii. 70. (101) Can. 16. 29.

they saw occasion sometimes a *Fast* and sometimes a *Festival* (as at that time when the Church put a check to the *Marcionists* who Fasted on that Day) and so it continued with this difference in the Eastern and Western Churches.

B. I stand much obliged, that you have been so full in clearing the Objections I put you. But to be ingenuous, what I at first intended by the *morality* of the fourth Commandment with respect to time, was, That *one Day in Seven* ought to be set apart for the Worship of God; not that I insisted on the *Legal Sabbath*, or that *Seventh Day* observed by the *Jews*, but *any one Day of the Week, any Seventh Day*, which I consider determined by that Precept, and to be accounted *Moral*.

And here I take the word *Seventh* for the *genus*, wherein I place its *Morality*; but look on *this* or *that Seventh Day* in the nature of a *Species Ceremonial* and alterable at the Churches pleasure, so that she may make it the *first* or *last* Day of the Week, as it best answers the design of being the *Memorial* of some very great Blessing, such as was the *Deliverance* out of *Egypt*, with respect to the *Jews*, or *Christ's Resurrection*, to which we *Christians* acknowledge our Redemption to be owing.

And of this mind is (102) *Junius*, who declares it a *Law of Nature* that the *Seventh Day* be consecrated to God. (103) So *Curcellanus*, more than once, calls it *Moral*. (104) Bishop *Babington* subscribes and says, "to have some

(102) *Prælect* in Gen. (103) *Rel. Christ.*
Instit. L. vii. Cap. xxxi. Sect. 14. & de esu sang. (104)
On the 4th Command.

“ Day in the Seven is Moral, and remaineth still
 “ obliging us; tho’ to have precisely Saturday,
 “ and to rest as the Jews did, is Ceremonial
 “ and a Shadow, and therefore now abrogated by
 “ the coming of the Body of Christ. And,
 who probably in your opinion, includes a
 great many Authorities: (105) Mr. Hooker
 speaks of it after this manner. “ The Moral
 “ Law, saith he, requiring therefore a seventh
 “ part throughout the age of the whole World
 “ to be that way employed, altho’ with us the
 “ Day be changed in regard of a new revolu-
 “ tion begun by our Saviour Christ, yet the same
 “ proportion of time continueth which was be-
 “ fore, because in reference to the benefit of
 “ Creation, and now much more of renovation
 “ thereunto added by him who was Prince of the
 “ World to come, we are bound to account the
 “ sanctification of one Day in Seven a Duty,
 “ which Gods immutable Law doth exact for
 “ ever. And this is consonant to what Ignatius
 asserts in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*;
 wherein tho’ he denies the Patriarchs to Sab-
 batize or keep the Jewish Saturday, yet he de-
 clares they observed a Seventh day, and calls it
 the *Dominical* or *Lords-Day*, the same we now
 Celebrate. And so Bishop *Usher*, *Pearson* and
Vossius translate him. “ That the Divine Pro-
 “ phets well versed in ancient Customs, attained
 “ to newness of hope and did not Sabbatize, but
 “ did Celebrate the *Lords-Day*, whereon our
 “ Life arose, and victory over death was ob-
 “ tained by him. And this, I think, may help
 “ to clear that of *Paul*, in making the *Sabbath*

a shadow; his word in the plural sometimes meaning that which *Weekly* occurs, as in those Texts you produced, but then it is to be considered, that he intends the *Ceremonial Saturday-Sabbath*, prescribed the Jews in *Deuteronomy* v. 14, 15. and was peculiar to them; not the *Patriarchal Sabbath* commanded *Exod. xx.* now observed by us, which is *Moral* and to last for ever. And by way of Corollary, (106) The quality and force of the *Septenary Number*, which you were mentioning, very observable in the Book of God and Works of Nature, is a kind of Lesson to us, that we should dedicate *this proportion* of time to Piety and Rest rather than any other, which the Creator has not made so remarkable on any account whatsoever. And of this sort is the River between *Arcas* and *Raphanae* (107) which *Josephus* and (108) *Pliny* take notice of, and which had this Miraculous quality, that
 “tho’ when it flowed it was very full of water,
 “and ran with a swift stream, yet having thus
 “flowed six days together, on the Seventh Day
 “it was so dry that you might see the bottom.
 “Thus it always continued its course, and for
 “this Cause the Jews called it the Sabbatick-
 “River, taking its Name from the Jewish Sabbath, which is on every Seventh-Day.—So *Josephus*, which seems very strange, and might well be construed into an Argument of Nature, to prove the Creator’s will, that this

(106) *Septenarij numeri vis & facultas in multis naturæ rebus animadversa.* Curcel. de esu sang. (107) *Joseph. de bell. Jud. L. vii. c. 24.* (108) *Nat. Hist. L. 31. c. 2. In Judæa Rivus Sabbatis omnib. siccatur, respondit Rabbi. Fluvius Sab. hoc ostendit qui per totam hebdomadam lapides trahit & in Sabbato quiescit—apud Galatin. L. xi. c. 9.*

Seventh-Day should be kept *holy* in the performances of Religion. As accordingly we find it kept by several (109) Perswasions, tho' on different Days, and in divers manners. For the *Mahometans* observe the *Sixth*, the *Jews* the *Seventh*, the *Indians* the *Fourth*, they in *Guinea* the *Third*, the *Christians* the *First*, yet all of them *one Day of the Week*, as a Doctrine taught by Nature. And so *Philo* the Learned *Jew* speaks. That "*Nature delights*
 "*in the Seventh; and therefore, saith he, you*
 "*need not ask me, why God chose the Seventh-*
 "*Day and established it as a Law for a Day*
 "*of Rest, since both Physicians and Philosophers*
 "*have often declared, of what great Power and*
 "*Virtue that Number is, as in all other things,*
 "*so especially in the Nature and State of Man.*
 And thus you have the reason of the *Seventh-Day*, and let me add, an evidence of that *Morality* we ascribe to it.

A. As for the *Mysteriousness* and perfection of the Number *Seven*, it is to be acknowledged that God and Nature have made it a very significant and remarkable Number, yet the others, as I show'd you, are not without credit; and the Numbers *Three* and *Ten* in particular are naturally very eminent, and stand on a level, if they may not be advanced above it. So that by this kind of Argument such proportions of time might be well call'd for, and esteem'd as proper as this. But in

(109) *Christianorum Septimanæ initium est à die Dominico Græcorum & Alexand. à die Luna. Jesnargit. seu Persarum, à die Martis. Nebuchadonazar seu Babyloniorum, à die Mercurij. Ethnicorum, à die Jovis. Elhigera seu Mahumedis ara, à die Veneris. Hebræorum à die Sabbati—Cusan. de reparat. Kalend.*

truth, these Insinuations conclude nothing ; and there must be a much clearer and more audible voice than what they speak with, to give Being to *Laws*, and frame *Rules for Practice*.

And for that Account you give of the *Sabbatick-River*, allowing the story true, (as *Pliny* and *Josephus* tell it) and that the Water flowed *Six Days*, and made an unaccountable stop on the *Seventh*, to recommend, as it was thought, the observation of the *Sabbath* ; yet considering, faith (110) *Galatine*, that there is no such River now in the World subject to that condition, we may argue on the contrary, that the *Jewish Sabbath* is now ceased, because these extraordinary qualities of the Water have an end, which were weekly seen in those times, to countenance and infer it. And yet were there such an ebbing and flowing of any Sea or River (as there is certainly great variety of Motions in that Element in several places of the World) they might proceed from the influence of the *Moon*, or some other Natural Cause, which though not comprehended, is not immediately to commence *Miracle*, nor extend to Matters of Religion.

The Authority then of the *Sabbath* is from *Scripture*. But every thing in *Scripture*, as revealed, is *positive* ; and such the *Seventh Day* is in this Question, which had never been known to be the *Rest-day* of God, if by another Inspiration it had not been discovered to us. And if God on that reason sanctified and made it a *Sabbath* to the *Jews*, it obliges no further than

(110) *Figmentum & Mendacium*, l. II. c. 9. Vid. *Selden de Jure Nat.* l. 3. c. 13.

a positive Law, grounded on that Revelation. And though we have not impiety and confidence enough to assert with *Leviathan*, That no Precept of the Gospel can be looked on as a Law, until enacted by Civil Authority; there being, according to this Hypothesis, no other Law, but only the Law of Nature, and Civil Laws: yet

“(111) it is a point ought to be taken for granted,
 “ That no part of the Law of Moses doth bind
 “ Christians under the Gospel by virtue of that
 Delivery, no, not the Ten Commandments themselves, but least of all the Fourth, which all confess to be in some respect Ceremonial. And Zanchius (112) saith, “ As neither the Judicial nor
 “ Ceremonial, so neither the Moral Law contain’d in the Decalogue, doth any way affect us
 “ Christians, but only so far forth as it is the Law
 “ of Nature, which bindeth all alike, and afterwards was confirm’d and ratify’d by Christ our
 “ King. His Reason is, because if the Decalogue
 “ as given by Moses to the Jews did concern the
 “ Gentiles, then the Gentiles had been bound by
 “ the Fourth Commandment to observe the Sabbath in as strict a manner as the Jews: But
 “ it is manifest, the Gentiles never were obliged
 “ to observe the Sabbath; and therefore it follows, they neither were nor possibly could be
 “ bound to any of the residue, as delivered by Moses to the Jews. Which partly appears in this, That Moses calls the Decalogue the words of the Covenant between God and the Jews, Deut. iv. 13. And he declared unto you his Covenant which he commanded you to perform, even Ten Commandments, and he wrote ’em on two tables of

(111) Sanderson. *Prælect.* 4. N. 28. de *Cas. Consc.* & de *Sabbato*.
 (112) Zanch. de *Redempt.*

stone. Consequently, as we do not take our selves obliged to that *Covenant*, so neither are we bound to the *Terms* of it which make up the Precepts of the Two Tables. Plainly, though to worship God ; to forbear Idols ; not to murther, steal, or the like, are originally *Laws of Nature* ; yet *Moses* reducing 'em to that Body of Statutes which he was framing for his Subjects, makes *These positive* as well as the rest. And if we respect *some* of 'em more than *others*, it is on the same reason they went ; because they become *Laws of our own constitution*, and thereby are *positive* again ; and we show 'em Obedience not as the *Laws of Moses*, but as the *Laws of Nature*, the transgression of which has *such or such* Penalties, as the wisdom of our Governours think most conducive to answer the end they were made for. However, since we find by Revelation that God *rested on the Seventh Day, and sanctified it*, and that by *Divine Appointment* it was made an Holiday to the People of the Jews, and since we are taught by *Nature to worship God*, and to worship him *on certain times*, for better Edification and Order, we have pitch'd on the *Seventh-Day* as congruous and convenient from the *analogy, equity and reason* of the Fourth Commandment, as a *proportion of time* more proper than any *other* ; because *Revelation* has set a mark on it in *God's Example*, who also inspired and directed *Moses* to make that Limitation. Not that there results any necessity for such a time on the account of that Revelation, (because such Discoveries are always *positive*) but being *naturally* instructed to distinguish and determine Times for Sacred Actions, the *reasonableness* of the *Seventh Day* got the start, and appeared so inviting, that our Fathers could

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could not but prefer it before any other, out of veneration to the Divine Example of God, who *rested on that Day*, and whose *Rest* we consider now in the quality of an *Eternal Law*; because there cannot be a *better reason* for another Day, to keep it holy. And in this sense we understand some of those Authors you name, who call it a *Moral* and an *Immutable Law*, from this *lasting application*, we Christians are and shall be ready to make, from what, as to this matter, hath been discovered to us in Scripture, upon a Reason which must needs have its due influence, and, without rival, to continue for ever.

And as to the *Mahometans* and others who celebrate a *Seventh Day* as well as we, this is not to be imputed to any impression of *Nature*, but what they have learn'd from *us* or the *Jews*, or taken from the *Bible*, to which, we are well satisfy'd, they are no strangers, from the many passages we find in their *Alcoran* so agreeable with Scripture.

What you offer out of St. *Ignatius*, will admit this Answer; That the main design of his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, is, to persuade those who profess themselves the Disciples of Christ to live as becomes *Christians*. And for a motive to this, he affirms to 'em, that the *Old Prophets* did the same, and on that account were persecuted by the People of those times. And so he makes this inference; "*If therefore they who were well versed in the works of ancient days came to newness of hope, (Bishop Mountague (113) saith, communion of hope, or the same hope common to them and us) not Sab-*

(113) Κοινότητα ἐλπίδος, *Exercit. I. sect. I.*

— *batizing*

“ batizing, but living according to the Dominical
 “ life : Then let us not be insensible—— Now
 as Sabbatizing not only signifies keeping the Sab-
 bath, but retaining all the Ceremonies and Rites
 of the Jewish Religion, of which the Sabbath was
 chief, (and therefore that People were called
 Sabbatarij, as by a known distinction,) so by
Dominicam viventes is meant no more than
 what he before said, (114) that they lived ac-
 cording to Christ Jesus our Lord. Thus it is
 worded in the two Translations of Ignatius,
 found by that Primate you named, one in the
 Library of Gunwell and Caius College in Cam-
 bridge, the other in the Study of Bishop Moun-
 tague, printed 1644. But I take the holy Man’s
 sence to be, that we should live a life suitable
 to the Example of Christ in the Gospel, and
 (115) no longer continue in *Judaism*, which is
 another word for *Sabbatization*, the latter being
 an *Ecclesiastical* term, and the former *Civil*.
 I must confess, the Latin Translations render
 the place doubtful, and the Substantive to
Dominica may be *Day* or *Life*, as the Reader
 pleases ; but the *Medicean* Copy, the best and
 most like that of *Eusebius*, leaves no scruple,
 because *ζωὴ* is exprest and determines the
 word *Dominical* to the *Person* of Christ, and
 not to the *Day* of his Resurrection. Neither
 does this supplement disturb the sence, seeing
 that what follows may be turned thus, *living up*
to the life of our Lord, in which is included our
life and victory over death by him. Juxta Chri-
stum or Secundum Dominicam vivere, inforces

(114) Κατὰ Χριστὸν ὡς ζῶντες. *Juxta Christum vixe-*
runt, saith Archbishop Usher. (115) Non amplius Sab-
batizantes, sed secundum Dominicam viventes.

this construction, that *Christ* is proposed as an *Example* or Pattern which the divine Prophets had an eye to, and we ought to follow them in it, acquitting our selves not (116) *Judaically* but *Spiritually*, as the Primate glosses in his red letters. So that all to be drawn from this passage is, That *Ignatius* denies the Patriarchs to *Sabbatize* or have any regard to the *Jewish Sabbath*. But that they kept a *Seventh-Day* or *Lord's-Day* now in use, I cannot see how this testimony proves it, when we have so much reason to suspect whether it be faithfully represented or no. And herein the Primate concurs: For he thinks the three first syllables of *ἐορταζομένη* wanting in the *Greek* of that Latin Manuscript found in *Cains College*, and on that reason came in *Viventes* instead of *Celebrantes*, which had been a better word to serve your notion. But for my own part, I look on this defect with the same eye as the redundancy of *ζωὴ* in the *Florentine Copy*, and take both as a matter of meer conjecture, and therefore unfit to support the Doctrine of the *Lord's-Day*, or to show that the *Patriarchs* kept it.

As to the double notion of the *Sabbath*, which you were proposing, I would desire you to explain your self a little more, before I offer at an Answer.

B. Thus it is. The Law was given at two several times; *Once* from Mount *Sinai*, which was to oblige all People; *Then* some years after reinforced for the particular use of the *Jews*, which, with their Government, was to have an end. And for the *Sabbath*, though mention

(116) Οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἀλλὰ Πνευματικῶς.

is made of it in both places, yet we may discover a great deal of difference between them, and so many marks as shew 'em *not the same*, and therefore we ought not to confound 'em together. For Instance: In the *Moral Law* of *Exod. xx.* the Reason given why we are to *Remember to keep holy the Sabbath-Day*, is, because *in six days the Lord made heaven and earth*— But in *Deuteronomy*, chap. v. where the *Sabbath* is made a *Sign* to the *Jews*, the Reason is particular and proper to them, *ver. 15. And remember thou wast a servant*— So that here their *Deliverance* out of *Egypt* was the motive, without one word of the *Creation*, or God's *Rest* on that Day: And this Reason is the rather set down, because it is supposed that on *this Day* their *Redemption* began, and they entred on their Journey towards the Land of *Canaan*; Providence so ordering it, that the Day might be the better retained, because it was the *term* of their *Deliverance*. Moreover, the *Law* of the Two Tables deliver'd from Mount *Sinai*, were put into the *Ark* by God's own Direction, *Deut. x. 2, 5.* But the other *Laws* wrote by *Moses* were placed in the *outside* of the *Ark*, as it is the common opinion, grounded on that Text, *Deut. xxxi. 26. Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark*— Add further, that it is said, *Ezek. xx. 10, 11, 12. I brought them into the wilderness, and gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments*— Moreover also *I gave 'em my sabbaths*— Where, if the Prophet had not distinguish'd between these *Laws*, as *Ceremonial* and *Moral*, he would have said thus, *judgments, statutes and sabbaths*. And, to conclude, 'tis not reasonable to think, that God, who is a God of Order (and who forbid *plowing with an Ox*

and an *Ass*, or wearing of *Linsley-woolsey*, and took care that Men and Women should not be seen in the same Apparel) would shuffle a *Ceremonial Law* among the *nine Moral*; which is as ridiculous to the full as the yoking of an *Ox* and an *Ass* together.

A. The whole *Pentateuch* was anciently one Book: But in process of Time, according to the variety of its Subjects, it was divided into five parts, the last of which the *Greeks* call *Deuteronomy* or the *Second Law*, or rather, after the way of the *Rabbins*, an iteration and repetition (117) of the Law given at *Horeb*. And the Reason of it was, because those who lived when the Law was first delivered were many of them (118) now dead, and a new generation of Men succeeded, who did not hear nor see with what Ceremony it was before publish'd. And therefore *Moses* being ready to leave the World, he thought it his duty to have the Law read to these before his death; that making it a kind of *Testamentary* and *Farewel-Speech* to them, they might remember it the better. The Laws therefore were not new, though newly recited before Men who had been strangers to the former Promulgation of it. Particularly, the *Decalogue* was the same as before, only another Reason is added to what is express'd in *Exodus*, i. e. their Deliverance out of *Egyptian* Bondage; that so, on a double account, they might be persuaded to worship God on this Day, as they were Men, and as they were Jews whom God had created and brought from a place in which they had been for many years under great Oppression. And yet in reality I cannot see why this should

(117) *Non quasi nova & alia — sed repetitio & explicatio.* A Lap. (118) Deut. 2. 16.

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be called a *New Reason*, since we find the very same thing in the Law of *Exodus*; only what is there made a *Preface* to the whole Law, is here inserted as a *Motive* to one of 'em. However, this we are sure of, that both in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy* the Law is the same; because it is said, (119) *These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire.* And again, *Keep the sabbath-day, as the Lord thy God commanded thee* — meaning the same Sabbath and the same Day as was before appointed in *Exodus*, otherwise the expression would not have looked backward, neither could he have said, *hath commanded thee*, if there had been intended a new Institution and a new Reason for it.

As to the Place where the Two Tables were put, the expressions of Scripture make some difference; because in one Text it is said *they were put in the Ark*, in another (120) *in the side of the Ark*, or more critically in the *out-side of the Ark*; or in a Chest by it self *on the right side of the Ark*, saith the Targum of Jonathan. And so we read, (121) that *there was nothing in the Ark, but the Two Tables which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a Covenant with the children of Israel at the time they came out of Egypt.* But in *Deuteronomy* (122) we find it commanded that the *Book of the Law* be put in the *side*, perhaps the *out-side* of the *Ark*, in a little Box made for that purpose. What can we draw from these two passages, but that the *Ten Commandments*, as principal Laws written by God,

(19) Deut. 5. 12, 22. (120) *ex latere Arca*, Æthiop. & Gr. *ad latus Arca*, Arab. *in sinu ejus vel prope eam*, A Lap. Una cum virga Aaronis & urna continens Manna, Abul. (121) 1 King. 8. 9. & 2 Chron. 5. 10. (122) Deut. 31. 26.

were to have so much honour as to be kept in the *Ark* it self; whereas the rest, as soon as collected and brought into a Volume (called thereupon the *Book of the Law*) were to be set near the *Ark* in some convenient place, from whence, upon occasion, they might take it out to read it to the People. That *Book* in the side of the *Ark* contain'd all the Laws belonging to the *Jews*, and among them the *Decalogue* it self: But in the *Ark* was only the latter on *Tables of Stone*, which not being so fit for common use, they transcribed and inserted 'em into the body of their Laws, yet without altering the nature of 'em, or making 'em by this means a new Institution. For they were all or most of 'em deliver'd from the *Mount*; and all of 'em, without distinction, made up the Volume which is called in the Text the *Book of the Law*. So that whether kept in or out of the *Ark*, the Laws were the same, made by the same Law-giver, and a little before *Moses's* death publish'd a-new, and read to the Assembly, that they might not be ignorant of their Duty to God and their Neighbour.

What you say out of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, supposes *Statutes* and *Judgments* to be different from the Law of the *Sabbath*, otherwise they had been linked more closely together, and the same Privileges equally bestowed on them all, that if a man do 'em he shall even live in 'em. And admitting this difference, then your own proof makes the *Sabbath*, what *St. Paul* calls it, a shadow, and so at *Christ's* appearance to vanish away. But indeed there is not, to my thinking, any such distinction. For as (193) by *Statutes* and *Judgments* are for the most part meant such Laws

among the Jews as more immediately respected their Government in Church and State, (and the Reward for Obedience to them Mr. Ainsworth calls *legal*, and of another kind than the Promises of the Gospel) so 'tis the way of Scripture to speak of things in *general*, and then add one *particular* Instance more eminent than the rest, to engage and employ our Meditations. As in *Mark* xvi. 7. when the Women came to the Sepulchre after Christ was risen, an Angel appeared to 'em, and bid 'em go tell his disciples and Peter. Peter was a Disciple, and therefore in ordering them to go and tell the Disciples, Peter must be included; and the Women, to be sure, had not omitted him, had he not been named; yet named he was in particular, and 'tis conceived the hint was intended to encourage that Disciple to accompany the rest into *Galilee*; or else perhaps considering how lately he had denied his Master, he might have been afraid to appear before him. And thus *Act*. i. 14. *St. Luke*, speaking of the Apostles and others after Christ's Ascension, informs us, that *these all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus. The Women and Mary.* So here *Statutes and Judgments* are named in the *general*; but then, as it presently follows, they are all determined and explain'd by one remarkable part, the *Sabbaths* to which the *Jewish Law* related, and which, of all others, bore the Emphasis. The *Sabbath* (124) was the great Subject of their *Law*; and if it be here particularized, it was not in opposition or to distinguish it from what goes before, but to illustrate what the Prophet design'd, and charge

(124) *Qui negaverit Sabbatum similis est ei qui negaverit totam legem*, a Saying of the Talmudists.

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'em with the breach of all the Laws of God without descending to every instance, unless one, which because of its dignity ought not to be pass'd in silence. I presume what Ezekiel aim'd at may allow this Comment, That by him God upbraids the *Jews* of gross ingratitude; because notwithstanding he had given 'em *Statutes and Judgments*, such as made the World believe 'em a *Wise and Understanding People*, and such, as if obey'd, would make 'em live in a Flourishing and prosperous Condition; nay tho' he had among other Favours, afforded 'em his *Sabbaths*, as a *Sign between him and them*, and whereby he distinguished them from all Nations, and rendred 'em his *peculiar People* and Children; yet senseless as they were, they regarded not these Blessings, but those wise and wholesome Laws they daily violated, and those indearing *Sabbaths* which were the Testimonies of the Divine Goodness; these they also polluted, and instead of serving him at such times, they fix'd *their eyes on their Fathers Idols*. Hereupon, sometimes in vengeance he gave them *Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they could not live*, ver. 25. i. e. (125) severe Punishments and Calamities; such as are Recorded *Numbers xvi, xvii, xxi, xxv. Chapters*. And in order thereto, he gave 'em up to their own hearts lusts, and let them follow their own imaginations, as the *Psalmist* saith, *Psalm lxxxi. 12.*

As for the mixture of *Moral and Ceremonial Laws*, that's not rare, as I noted before to you. But for your conjecture that the Sab-

(125) *Quæ sententiæ mortis continerent—Ipsæ incommoda noxiæq; ut fuerunt hiatus terræ & ignis, plaga pestilens, serpentes, &c. Jun. & Trem.*

bath commanded from Mount *Sinai*, and the other in *Deutronomy* had several Days; and that the *Jews* kept the *one* and we the *other*, as the very same the Patriarchs and this very People observed before, This seems to beg too much: For it doth not yet appear, but that the Law was the *same* in *both places*, tho' repeated in *Deutronomy* for the further instruction of the People. Neither is there the least *innuendo* of the alteration of the Day, tho' it was an Article of too great consequence to be omitted. Nor am I convinced that it was truly the *Day* they took their farewell in, when they left the Land of *Egypt*.

Your distinction of *genus* and *species* of the *Seventh-Day* looks somewhat like *Fancy*. For if we must have a *Seventh-Day Moral*, it ought to be that *Seventh-Day* mention'd in the Commandment, or else there is no correspondence between the *Precept* and the *Reason* of it, *i. e.* the *Rest* of God. And therefore that particular Day is to be distinguished on which it is Recorded he actually rested: and accordingly the *Precept* begins, *Remember the Sabbath-Day*, then follows the *Motive*, *because God rested on the Seventh-Day*, — and so concludes, *wherefore the Lord blessed the Seventh-Day, and hallowed it*: or more exactly after the *Hebrew*, *he blessed the Sabbath-Day*, and made that *Seventh* the *Sabbath* to the *Jews*, in which himself rested, and that *rest* was the reason why he *bles'd* it. The consequence is, That if the Day be kept on the account of the Blessing, then that *individual Day* ought to take place, which God Sanctified, and Dedicated to his Service. And so far the *Jews* are in the right, that if the *Seventh-Day* be *Moral*,

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ral, it must be *their Sabbath* or the *last of the Seven*, which on that supposition is *unalterable*.

B. As far as I can gather from your Discourse hitherto, you incline to the Opinion of the *Rhemists*, To make the observation of this Day a *Tradition* and *Custom* of the Church, grounded more on the *reasonableness* of the practice, than any *Divine Authority*, proposing and requiring it. And of this mind was *Tindal*, who looked on it with so indifferent an eye, that he declared in his Answer to *Sir Thom. More*, that we are *Lords of the Sabbath*, and may change it to *Monday*, or any other Day, or appoint every *Tenth Day*, or *Two Days in a Week*, as we find it most expedient. And so *Barclay* saith of *Calvin*, that he once designed to translate it to *Thursday*, as an instance of Christian Liberty; especially being the Day, whereon might be Commemorated the most Triumphant and Glorious Act of our Lord, his *Ascension* up into Heaven. But if you go this way to work, and allow the Decalogue to contain *Ceremonial Laws*, as well as *Moral*, you give a fair opportunity to the *Papist* to interpret the *Second Commandment* as you do the *Fourth*, and so may dismiss it as a Temporal Law prohibiting Images as dangerous things to the *Jews*, but are innocent and useful in these latter days for the better information and instruction of the ignorant.

A. The Doctrine of *Images* is exploded by the Law of *Nature*, and the better reason of Mankind, which looks on it as a thing very absurd and inconsistent with the Notion of an *Infinite Spirit*, an *Almighty*, *Eternal*, *Immortal*, *Invisible* and *Wise God* to be represented in
that

that gross manner, and what might make a Sober Man laugh to see the Carpenter, Smith, or Painter, adoring the works of his own hands. A matter found of so ill consequence, that (*) St. *Augustin* reports it a Saying of *Varro* a wise Heathen, That had *Rome* continued without Images as they had done for 170 years together, the Gods had been served much better. And the first who made these Images for the Gods, discharged the fear due to them, and were the cause of many Errors. And as a *Sin of Nature*, the Holy Prophets rebuked the Heathen for it, *Isaiah* xliv. 9. *Habak.* ii. 18, 19. *Deut.* xii. 3. whereas we never find them charged with the breach of the *Sabbath*, as they had often certainly been, had that been a *Law of Nature* and affected them as it did the *Jews* whom a multitude of Scriptures blame for their ill keeping it. As for the opinion of *Calvin* and *Tindal* about changing the Day, I answer, it is a distinction of *Suarez*, that the alteration of the Lord's-Day is *absolutely* necessary, but not *practically*; he means, that it is needful *such a power* should be in the Church, tho' not convenient to put it in *execution*. Upon this Foundation *Calvin* and *Tindal* built; and the *Sabbatarian Tenet* breaking out in a fierce manner at the *Reformation*, was the reason they spake so highly of their *Christian Liberty* in this particular, to put a check to that Doctrine. Yet in prudence and *discretion* the alteration was not made tho' as to *Principle* they thought it not amiss to make the Adversary sensible of the *Authority* of the Church in a thing which they considered of an *indifferent Nature*. Not that it was a *set Day*

(*) De Civ. Dei.

which the *Law of Nature* requires for the Service of Religion, but as *one* was pitched on rather than *another*, and they would have *that Day* changeable to prevent all *Superstition*.

B. How does this agree with the Judgment and Doctrine of the *Church of England* in her *Liturgy* and *Homilies*? For in the *First* she has appointed *this Precept* as well as the *rest* to be pronounced in the *2d Service*. And at the conclusion of it her Children are taught to beg Gods Grace *to incline their hearts to keep this Law*; keep it as it is there worded in the plain sense according to the understanding of those who are engaged in the Service. And then in the *Catechism*, the same Law is again repeated, and in the Charge given the Godfathers and Godmothers, they are required to take Care the Children be taught the *Creed*, the *Lords-Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments* in the *vulgar Tongue*, and undoubtedly in the *vulgar sense*, as most fit for the Capacities of young People, who are not able to penetrate into *Figures*, but take every thing in the common acceptance of the words laid before 'em. And then in the *Homily* of the place and time of Prayer, she hath these words: "*God has given*
 "*express Charge unto all Men, that upon the Sab-*
 "*bath-Day which is now our Sunday, they should*
 "*cease from all weekly and work-day labour; to*
 "*the intent that like as God himself wrought*
 "*Six Days and rested the Seventh, and blessed*
 "*and sanctified it, and consecrated it to quiet-*
 "*ness and rest from labour; even so Gods obe-*
 "*dient People should use the Sunday holily, and*
 "*rest from their common and daily business, as*
 "*also give themselves wholly to Heavenly Exer-*
 "*cises of Gods true Religion and Service. So*
 that God does not only command the observa-
 tion

tion of this Holiday, but also by his own example doth stir and provoke to the diligent keeping of the same. And therefore either *this Law* is still in force, and has the same vigour and obligation with the other *nine*, or else the *Church* seems to me to equivocate, and may be well thought to impose on her Children.

A. The Doctrine of the *Church of England* is, that *some times* be set apart for the honour and worship of God, which is what we are directed to by *Natural Reason*, and is called the *Moral* of the *Fourth Commandment*. But that the *Commandment* obliges no further than in *the Equity*, appears by that *Homily* you refer to, as may be easily discovered, if we carefully read it, for it speaks to us thus. "*Albeit this Commandment doth not bind Christian People so straitly to observe and keep it as it did the Jews, as touching the forbearing of work or labour in a time of great necessity, and as touching the precise keeping of the Seventh-Day after the way of the Jews; yet notwithstanding, whatever is found in the Commandment appertaining to the Law of Nature, as a thing most godly, most just and needful for the setting forth of Gods glory, ought to be retain'd and kept of all good and Christian People; and therefore by this Commandment we ought to have a time, as one in Seven, wherein we are to rest, yea from our lawful and needful works.* So that she refers to this *Commandment*, no otherwise, than as it contains a *Doctrine* exhibited by the *Light of Nature*, that *some Days* should be consecrated to *Divine Uses*. And if she pitches on the *Seventh*, it was not that she thought a *Seventh necessary*, or that the *Commandment* binds us to *that Day*;

Day; but being a Day once commanded on the account of God's resting upon it, she was willing to *determine* the equity of the Precept, and take *that Day* rather than any other, in conformity to the Example of God, who, in the Commandment, is said to rest on *that Day*. And so the *Homily* saith, that "*this Example and Commandment of God, the godly Christian People began to follow after Christ's Ascension, and to chuse them a standing Day of the Week to come together in, not the Seventh-Day, which the Jews kept, but the Lord's-Day, the Day of his Resurrection. Since which time Gods People hath always, in all Ages, without any gainsaying, used to come together on Sunday. So that after Christ's Ascension the Piety of Christian People began this Custom, and the same Piety has continued it to the present time. And tho' the Homily mentions the Seventh-Day in several places, she doth not count this period a part of the Law of Nature, but as a time that God once determined under the Law, and the Church still keeps to it, as a decent and proper Day, because of the Divine Precept and Example. And accordingly speaking of this Commandment, she saith; "By this Commandment we ought to have a time, as one Day in the Week, or as one Day in Seven, having recourse, for illustration sake to the Day fixed among the Jews, which tho' she was not obliged to, yet she was bound to some standing Day, as their one of Seven to adore and worship God in. And truly tho' the Seventh-Day be not of the Law of Nature, "Yet (126) "when God had thus determined it, Nature*

(126) Stillingfleet's *Iren.* P. I. C. 5. §. 3.

“ cannot but assent to that particular deter-
 “ mination ; that in consideration of the
 “ works of God, it is most reasonable that ra-
 “ ther *one Day* in the *Week*, than *one* in a *Month*
 “ should be dedicated to God’s Service; that
 “ the *Seventh-Day* of the *Week* upon God’s
 “ resting on that Day and sanctifying it,
 “ should be the precise Day, unless some rea-
 “ son equivalent to that of the first institution,
 “ and approved by God for that end, be the
 “ ground of its alteration to another of the
 “ *Seven*, which is the reason of the change
 “ under the Gospel. And as she thought fit
 to determine thus the *time* of Worship, as in
 the Precept, so she sets forth the *manner* of it,
 and how she would have the worship express’d;
 and here she thought she could not do better,
 than to take the directions of the same Com-
 mandment, as far as, in this respect, it apper-
 tained to the *Law of Nature*. (127) So that
 it being *natural*, while we worship God, to
 forbear *all* other things, she uses the *same*
words prescribed in the Commandment, and
 also the *same motive* from the Example of God
 to require the *Jews* and invite *us* to adjourn all
 sorts of work but such as might be reconciled
 to the Service of the Day. And so come in
 those expressions of the *Homily* you now cited
 to admonish us to sanctifie the Day, as God did,
 and rest from all our Weekly and common
 Business.

And this being the meaning of the Fourth
 Commandment in the Judgment of our
 Church, we may very safely subjoyn that Eja-
 culation *Lord have Mercy, &c.* without being

(127) *Naturale est quod dum deum colimus ab alijs ab-
 stineamus. Tosta.*

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made a prop for the *Sabbaths-Morality*. For tho' the Commandment be not intirely a *Law of Nature*, yet there is somewhat in it which *appertaining* to the *Law of Nature* makes it necessary to be read, to signifie to the Congregation the Will of God, that some set times are to be devoted to his Service, and that the times so determined must be piously and solemnly kept, and therefore we *beseech* him to give us Grace to do it. But then tho' we send up such a Prayer at the end of each Precept every *Lords-day*, yet we do it on *other Holidays* too, which shows we have no superstitious conceit of the *7th Day* in particular, only as it is a Law of the Church to observe it, but withal to observe *other Holidays* with it. And tho' we Reverence the *7th Day*, as the *Jews* did, yet the *Homily* saith "We do it out of choice after the Example of
" *Christian People who began this Custom from*
" *the Ascension of our Lord.* And if out of Choice, to be sure they had *Liberty* to let it alone. And as they had power to *change* the Day of the Week from *Saturday* to *Sunday*, so they had the same power either to *contract* or *enlarge* the time as they saw reason for it.

And that this is so doth further appear in the Act of Parliament made by King *Edw. VI.* where it is thus worded. Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain or definite number of Days prescribed in Holy Scripture, but the appointment both of the Time and also of the Number of Days is left by the Authority of Gods Word unto the Liberty of Christ's Church to be determined and assigned orderly in every Country, by the discretion of the Rulers and Ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the true
setting

setting forth of God's Glory, and Edification of the People. Be it therefore Enacted, that all Days hereafter mentioned, shall be kept, and are Com-manded to be kept Holidays, and none other; *i. e.* all Sundays, Circumcision, Epiphany, &c. And I the rather take notice of this Law, because some of those *Prelates* who composed the *Liturgy*, were Members of the *Parliament* which made *this Law*; and so by consequence the *Liturgy* and *this Law* explain one another.

The Summ is this. The *Fourth* Commandment is so far forth a *Law of Nature*, that it requires *standing Days* to do God Service in. The *Church* has thought fit to *determine* those *Days*, both as to their *Annual* and *Weekly* returns. The most Famous of these is *Sunday*, the First Day of the Week, on the account of *Christ's Resurrection*: And it is *one Day* in *seven*, in conformity to what God was pleased to prescribe the *Jews*, upon the reason of his own resting on the *Seventh-Day*. And we look on it a good *Motive*, tho' not necessary, that we on the *Seventh-Day*, should rest likewise from all servile Works, the better to contemplate the Almighty and Wise Creator. This therefore being the determined time, and manner of Worship, according to our constitution, seeing that it is requisite that the *Laws of Nature* be read to the People, and that *this Law* about *set times* of Worship, be repeated as well as the other *nine*, what need is there to alter the form we find it in? and reject words given by God himself, which as fully express *our sence*, as any we can offer of our *own*? And since our Governours and Guides have pitched on a *Seventh-Day*, why should not the Congregation

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gregation be admonished, *to remember the Seventh Day to keep it holy?* and as an instance of so doing, *to do no manner of work*, i. e. no common work on that Day which might hinder or disturb the Service of God? and because the motive of this rest from ordinary Business on the *Seventh-Day*, is on the account of God's Example, *who in Six Days*, &c. — May not this be delivered very well in *Moses's Language*; and may not God be beseeched to assist us in all this, without the charge of *Judaism* on the one hand, or without making the Commandment wholly *Moral* on the other, which is what you aim at in this Objection?

And if this be the sence of our *Church* in the *Second Service*, the same sence must be in the *Catechism* where Children are taught, what as to this Point, the *Law of Nature* is, and how the *Church* of which they are Members understand it. But you say, This distinction in the Fourth Commandment between what God requires, and the *Church* calls for, is not discernible by such Capacities as are in *Children*, who will be apt to take all the Ten Commandments, and every clause in 'em, as purely Laws of God, and in the *literal* and ordinary meaning. To which we answer; That *this Precept* is in no more danger of being mistaken than are the *others* which will want the Catechist's pains to explicate and make 'em easie. As for example. It is said in the Second Table, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that thy days may be long*—Now those who reflect on the miseries of Life, have no reason to take *length of days* for a Blessing, or esteem it an *adequate Reward* for our Obedience and the Respect we shew to *Father* and *Mother*; and therefore it is look'd upon as a favour done to good King

Josiah,

Josiah, that God was pleas'd to take him from the *Evil to come*. And yet it is a *Blessing*, considering the *longer* we live, the *more* opportunity we have to serve God, and thereby be able to get in the end to an *higher Mansion of Glory*. For the main *Reason* why we were made, being to do the Creator honour, the *more Years* we have, the *better* we may answer this Design; and in proportion to the Service we do, we shall be rewarded hereafter. Or if we expound this Promise as belonging to the *Jews*, whose felicity depended and was thought to depend on *long Life*, to be able to propagate and fill their Country; then why may we not argue, That if a *Ceremonial Promise* had room in the *Decalogue*, why should it be wonder'd that a *Ceremonial Precept* be found in it? and where is the inconvenience, to believe it so in one respect more than in the other?

Again, *Thou shalt not kill* — yet we are to make a difference between a *legal Execution* and a *sinful Murther*; for the one *complies* with the *Law*, and the other *transgresses* it. It is forbid in the First Table to make any *graven Image* — Perhaps the Boy that learnt this, has never read that of the Poet, *Qui colit ille facit*, and cannot without his Master discern the difference between *drawing a Picture* and *making it the Object* of his Worship. And so in this Fourth Commandment, *God rested the seventh day* — yet strictly, God can no more (128) *rest* than be *weary*, but he *rested* when he ended his Work. Nor doth he, or ever did *simply rest*; because he is always doing, by his *Providence*, for the conservation of those Species he produced at the Creation. I mention these things, to let you see, that *other Precepts* as well as *this* are so worded as to need *explanation*, and in particular,

(128) Chrysost. Hom. in Gen.

the reason of the Fifth Commandment, tho' we can well enough apply it now under the Gospel, as in what I took notice of to you, yet without doubt it was chiefly meant for those ancient Times, when *many Years* were accounted a *Mercy* by People who in a great measure were influenced by *Temporal Blessings*, and a *long Life* to enjoy 'em. However, we use the same motive to persuade *Obedience* to Parents, as we do what we read in the Fourth Commandment for keeping the *Seventh Day holy*.

B. I find no Argument will take with you ; But yet once more. What think you of the *Resurrection* ? Did not (129) Our Lord set a particular mark on *this Day*, by his rising from the Grave ? And is it not a sufficient discovery of his Will, in having this Day *celebrated*, by his so often appearing on it to his Disciples ? And that those Disciples so constantly met on *this Day*, can we imagine it *casually* done, and not rather by the *appointment* of their Master, who made it *solemn* by frequenting those places where at *such times* they were got together ? And afterwards, was it not the *Day* whereon was that plentiful Effusion of the *Blessed Spirit*, foretold by the Prophet *Joel*, on purpose to sanctifie and distinguish it from all others ? Accordingly we find it the Day on which the Apostles assembled, and prescribed it to their Converts for holy Uses, as we see by *Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (130) *Upon the first day of the week let every one of you — As I have given order to the Churches of Galatia —* ὡς ἐγὼ διέταξα, as I have ordain'd ; which is an *Institution*, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε, *so do ye*, which amounts to a *Command*. And so elsewhere, *Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached —* This declares the *Practice*,

(129) Athanas. *Hom. de Sem.* (130) 1 Cor. 16. 2.

and shows it to be [*dies sacri cœtus & dies panis*] an appointed Day for the People to hear Sermons, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a time well known to be set apart for sacred Performances. And upon these and the like Authorities it is that (131) *Hospinian, Estius, A Lapide*, with many others, speak peremptorily of it, that it is not to be doubted but the Institution of the Lord's Day (Name and Thing) is owing to the Apostles, who, as (132) *Basil and Austin* also say, decreed it to be solemnly and religiously kept; and from that time to this it has been devoutly observ'd by all Christian Churches throughout the World.

A. The Motives you propose are good, and a Man must be very singular and peevish not to accept 'em. And their influence is so powerful, that there is no likelihood to think of an *Alteration*. However, as I conceive, you strain the point too much, to call it an *Institution of Christ* or his *Apostles*, when the Scripture is silent as to any such thing. It was indeed *Calvin's* opinion, (133) that "at first the Apostles for a considerable time kept on foot the Old Day, which had prevailed with the Jews for so many Ages. But afterwards, being compelled to change it, because of the many Abuses which the Superstition of their Countrymen brought upon it, they did substitute the First of the Week, in remembrance of Christ's Resurrection; which put a period to all the shadows of the Law, and admonishes us Weekly of our Christian Liberty — But then this substituting of one Day in the room of another, was not in the way of *Doctrine*, but *Practice*; nor did they enjoin the Observation of the First Day of the Week, though 'tis evident themselves observed it. And so Mr. Calvin con-

(131) *Hosp. de Fest. Christ.* c.8. *Estius & A Lap. in 1 Cor. xvi.*
 (132) *De Sp. Sanct. Aug. de Temp.* (133) *Calv. in 1 Cor. xvi.*

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siders it, as perhaps the Apostles did, *an instance of Christian Liberty*, wherein they left us so free, that in that Author's judgment we may still change the Day, and substitute another. Certain it is, there was a *change*, even in the Apostles times, from the *last Day* of the Week to the *first*, but (134) *when* precisely, or *by whom* it was made, does not appear from Scripture. And if the Apostles made it a Rule, as you would have it, yet we have this account only by *Tradition*; and so, not the *Rhemists* alone, but *Irenaus* and others call it, as well as they: *We following their Tradition, have dedicated the Lord's-Day to holy Assemblies*—(135) *A Lapide*, whom you named, treats it in the same manner, and makes it an Argument for *unwritten Doctrines*; *Because*, saith he, *we no where find the Scripture commanding the Lord's-Day to be observed instead of the Sabbath*. And for *Hospinian*, notwithstanding those words of his, (136) *the Apostles ordained and substituted it*, he declares in the same Chapter, that though 'tis true the *Lord's-Day* was very solemn in the days of the Apostles, yet we cannot discover that the Apostles made any Canon of that kind, but left it to the Church's liberty to use what Day she pleased, most serviceable to the good of her Children; and accordingly *other Days* were made religious, as *St. Augustine* and *Epiphanius* witness. (137) *Socrates* is positive, that neither *Christ* nor his *Apostles* made any *Law* concerning *Festivals*, but their main End was, to persuade *Christians* to lead a godly and virtuous life. And therefore until (138) *Constantine's* Reign there was no

(134) *Quando facta fuit hac mutatio in Sacris literis non habemus*, Muscul. P. Mart. Loc. Com. in *Quar. Præcept.* (135) *Neque enim usquam Scriptura jubet Dominicam servari pro Sabbato*, in 1 Cor. xvi. (136) *Substituerunt & ordinarunt* — yet, non invenitur. (137) Lib. 5. c. 22. (138) *Euseb. de Vit. Constant. l. 4. c. 23.*

Constitution touching these Matters, though *then* and *afterwards* the Empire growing *Christian*, care was taken to observe Days by *Law*, and Penalties were inflicted on those who refused to keep 'em.

As for Our *Lord's* *Appearing* on that *Day* to his Disciples, it was not so often done, as to lay any great stress on't. For though it cannot be denied but that on *this Day* he show'd himself to *Mary* and the *two Disciples going to Emaus*, and the same night to the *rest* assembled together; yet that his second Appearance, intended for the conviction of *Thomas*, before absent, was on the *eighth day* after, is not so clear, but we may safely question whether on this *Day* he was seen or no. The Gospel saith expressly [*αὐτὸς ἠνέκας ὀκτῶ*] *after eight days*, therefore not on the *eighth* from his former appearance, but some *Day* (what is uncertain) when the *eighth* was expired and gone. However, he discover'd himself to his Disciples on other Days as well as this, as at the (139) *Sea of Tiberias*, where several of 'em were fishing. And St. Luke saith, (140) *he was seen of 'em forty Days*, without exception or distinguishing one day from another. And it is very observable, that the most solemn manifestation of himself that he ever made *after his Resurrection* was on the *Fifth Day* of the Week, when in the presence of an Hundred and twenty Disciples he went up to Mount *Oliver*, and from thence to *Heaven*.

The descent of the *Holy Ghost* on *Sunday* or the *First Day of the Week* was *casual*, and too uncertain to make it commence a *Rule*. For *Pentecost* was a *Moveable Feast*, and depended on the *Passover*, as the *Passover* did on the Motion of the *Moon*. So that the *Passover this Year* falling on the *Sabbath*, it followed, that the *Feast of Pentecost*, upon the

(139) John xxi. 2.

(140) Acts i. 3.

revolution of so many Weeks, was to be the Day after ; and tho' at this time it happen'd to be *Sunday*, the *Day* must alter in another Year. The true Reason then why *this Day* was pitched on for that miraculous effusion, (141) is given by *St. Chrysostom*, because *Pentecost* was a very famous *Festival*, at which all the *Jews* were to be present at *Jerusalem*, according to the Law ; and among others, those who had an hand in shedding our Redeemer's Blood, or at least consented to his Crucifixion and Death ; therefore God was pleased to take this Opportunity, that *these Men* might receive publick censure for that bloody Act, and so bear record to the power of the Gospel. It might be added, that some respect was had to this time on the account of the Law, which was proclaimed from Mount Sinai in an illustrious manner at the same time of the year. (142) " So
 " that the thing being casual as to the Day, and
 " special as to the business then by God intended,
 " it will afford us little proof either that the Lord's
 " Day was as then observed, or that the Spirit Se-
 " lected that Day for so great a work, to dignifie
 " it for a Sabbath.

That the Disciples met on *this Day* we believe, because *St. Luke* affirms it, *Acts* xx. 7. but there is more frequent mention made of the *Sabbath* as a *Day* they assembled in, and yet that *Practice* has not the force of (143) an *Institution*, nor can it be called a *Command* to prefer this Day before another.

That *St. Paul* Preach'd on the first Day of the Week the same Text saith ; but what is this to

(141) In *Act.*
 P. 2. c. 1. n. 5.

(142) *Heylin's Hist. of Sabbath.*

(143) *Ex facto & exemplo legem facere iniquum est. Nunquam licet à facto ad jus argumentari, Zuinglius.*

near twenty places in the same Author, where we find him Preaching on *Saturday*, for the Reasons (144) St. Chrysostom and Calvin give; because then the *Jews* met, and by that means he hoped to Convert 'em by his Preaching.

Again, St. Paul writes to the *Corinthians*, to make their Collections for the Poor on *this Day*. The reason of it is, saith St. Chrysostom, because at such times the *Mind* being free from the incumbrances of other business, she is more inclinable to pity than she would otherwise be; and the rather, because then the thoughts are intent on the inestimable bounty of God bestow'd on this Day in the resurrection of our Redeemer; a consideration which will invite a Good Man to be bountiful and kind to those who want him. I do confess the Motives great and pressing for our Charity to the necessitous, because God has been gracious and compassionate to us in our wants, yet I question the validity of this proof, that either the *Corinthians* always met on *this Day*, or that St. Paul means it the particular Day on which those Contributions were to be made. St. Chrysostom indeed seemingly affirms it, but (145) dissents, and elsewhere asserts it to be the *Sabbath-Day*; and he has (146) a great many to bear him company, whose Authority must so far prevail at least, as to render it a *questionable Case*; and seeing the Greek *κατὰ μίαν Σαββάτων* or *Σαββάτου*, may indifferently signify either the *First Day* or *one Day of the Week*, and in strict Grammar more especially the latter, therefore this can do you but little Service in the present Dispute, because when the proof looks *both ways*, it concludes for *neither*.

(144) Hom. in Act. Calv. in Act.

(145) Institut.

(146) *Singulis Sabbatis* Strigel. Areti. Arab. *per unam Sabbati*, Vulg. Lat. Hemling & Magdeburg.

And lastly for those words *as I have given order, so do ye*, which seem you think to import an *Institution* and *Command*; they do not refer to the *Day* it self, but *what was to be done* on the *Day*; namely their *benevolence* towards the support of the *Saints in Judea*, which he press'd in all places where he Preached, at *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Galatia*, as also here according to the Agreement the Apostles made between themselves on this occasion, *Gal. ii. 10.*

But the Night draws on; and therefore to give you my opinion in this matter, which is what you desired, I say, (147) "That the observation of the Lords-Day among Christians instead of the Jewish-Sabbath is not grounded upon any Commandment given by Christ to his Apostles. Nor yet upon any Apostolical Constitution given to the Churches in that behalf. But that it was taken up by the succeeding Church, partly in imitation of some of the Apostles who used, (especially in the Churches of the Gentiles, for in the Churches of Judea the Old Sabbath was still observed,) to Celebrate their holy Assemblies upon the first Day of the Week in the honour of Christ and his Resurrection; and partly for the avoiding of Judaism wherewith false Teachers in those first times, were ever and anon attempting to inthrall the Christian Church. And herein that Homily considered before, is my Warrant; For it saith, "after the Ascension, Godly Christian People, taking the 4th Commandment not for a Law but an Ensamble, began to set apart a standing Day for the worship of God, and they chose the first Day of the Week, as the best Day to celebrate the Resurrection. So that

(147) Dr. Sanderson's Case of the Sabbath. *Rivet* in *Exod. xx.*

the *Lords-Day* had no Command that it should be sanctified, but it was left to *God's People* to pitch on *this* or *that Day* for the Publick worship. And being taken up and made a Day of Meeting for Religious Exercises, yet for 300 Years there was no *Law* to bind 'em to it, and for want of such a *Law*, the Day was not *wholly* kept in abstaining from common business; nor did they any longer rest from their ordinary Affairs (such was the necessity of those times) then during the *Divine-Service*. And therefore (148) *St. Jerom* makes it a particular Circumstance of the *Egyptian Monks*, that on the *Lords-day* they did nothing else but *Read and Pray*. And for a proof of this *imperfect Celebration* of the Day, the same Father proposes the Example of *Paula* a Devout Lady, whose Custom it was with the Virgins and Widows attending her, to repair to the Church every *Lords-Day*, and returning home again they sat down to their Work, which was to make Garments for themselves, and others who needed 'em.

B. With your leave, Sir; may not that Author's meaning be, that (149) when *Paula* and her Company were not at Church serving God, they were then so employ'd as you represent 'em? For the words do not necessarily conclude for Work on the *Lords-Day*, but seem to me rather to say, that she kept both that Day *intirely*, and all *other Days*, when there were opportunities of Worshipping God; and when there was no such opportunity, she diligently attended her Household-Affairs, and such business as became her Condition and Sex, because she would never be idle. This better agrees with what *Jerom*

(148) Ad Eustochium.
Lib. i. Cap. 20.

(149) Dies Dominica,

writes elfewhere; that namely *on this Day*, (150) Men are to do only fuch things as relate to the welfare of their *Souls*. So that either *Paula* did no work at all on the *Lords-Day*, or it was no other (after *Dorcas's* Example) than what *suited the Day*, i. e. Works of Charity, whereby ſhe made proviſion for her ſelf in the Eternal State hereafter. And to this ſence is that of *Chryſoſtom*, who in his Tenth Homily on *Genesis* tells us, that “ *God bleſſed the Seventh-day, and has taught us* “ *that in the compaſs of a Week we ſhould ſet apart* “ *one whole Day for the practice of Religion*. And in his fifth Homily on *Matthem*, he cautions his Auditory, not (upon their return from Church) to reſume their common buſineſs, but to take the Holy Bible, examine what had been Preached to them, and ſee that their Families ſhared in the Inſtructions given ’em. Yet were it ſo, as you take it, that even on the *Lords-day*, at her coming home from the publick Worſhip, *Paula* betook her ſelf to her ordinary Task whatever it was, (151) yet *Cyprian's* Rule in this caſe is to be heeded, *That we are not to follow any Cuſtom, untill we are ſure it is a ſafe one*. And therefore ſuppoſing this to be her practice on the *Lords-day*, it doth not follow, that others then did, or that we now ſhould imitate her in it.

A. That *St. Jerom* ſpeaks of the *Lords-day*, is without gain-faying, for he ſaith, (152) “ *Paula* “ *with the Women, as ſoon as they returned home on* “ *the Lords-day, they ſate down ſeverally to their* “ *work, and made Cloaths for themſelves, and* “ *others—ſo that both belong to the ſame Day,* their return home, and their return to work, which

(150) *Sabbato ea tantum faciunt quæ ad animæ ſalutem pertinent. In Itai.* (151) *Cypr. Epist.* (152) *In Epitaph. Paulæ ad Euſtoch.*

was to make Garments, but whether all of 'em intended for *Charity* may admit some doubt. To be sure what was made [*sibi*] for *her self* and *them* will not allow that interpretation; and as for the [*cæteris*] this consideration will not excuse her, because in case she design'd 'em for *Charity*, yet there was no necessity for her to work on *that Day*, but might put it off safely to the next Morning. The Rule of St. Cyprian is necessary, *That we are not to imitate an ill Custom.* But this Rule, if applied here, charges St. Jerom with a very great oversight to propose *Paula* for an *Example*, and insert this passage in the commendation of that excellent Lady; "*that she*
"*with her Women returned to their work as soon as*
"*Church-time was over*—in case it had not been the innocent practice of that Age, and was part of the Character of a good Woman. As to what you produce out of St. Chrysostom, I wish you had read on in that *Homily*, and then you had met with these words immediately following. *And when these Lessons are well fixed in the Mind, then he gives 'em leave to proceed to other Matters relating to this Life.* So that the fault was not to do any common work on that Day, but they made too much haste to it, because without giving themselves leisure to reflect on what was Preached, they forthwith ran to their Employments and Trades, which tho' harmless enough in themselves, ought to have been deferr'd 'till the Instructions given 'em in the Church were thoroughly settled in their memories. And therefore these Exceptions do not weaken what was before asserted, That tho' the *Lords-day* had respect shown it, and was distinguish'd by the exercise of holy Duties, yet it was not fully consecrated to the Worship of God, but was part of it spent on those ordinary works which humane weakness and their daily wants required to be done.

B. Do

B. Do you allow Work to be done on this Day?

A. By no means, excepting such as pure *Necessity* or *Charity* calls for, which are not so much the works of *Men* as of *God*. For the (153) *Law of Nature* requires, that *Sacred times* Dedicated to Divine Services, should not be *Prophaned* or polluted by business not suiting that name. And the *Laws of the Church* determining these *Sacred Times*, they ought to be spent in the worship of God without the interruption of our *Secular Concerns*. And this *Paula* and the rest did, as far as they were then obliged to it. And if we read they did any work on the *Lords-day*, it is to be remembred that this application to their daily tasks, was not 'till the worship was quite over, when they might with innocency enough resume 'em, because the *length of time* or the *number of hours* assign'd for Piety was not then so well explained as in after Ages. The State of the Church is vastly different from what it was in those early Days. *Christians* then for some Centuries of Years were under *Persecution* and *Poverty*; and besides their own wants, they had many of 'em severe *Masters* who compel'd 'em to work, and made 'em bestow less time in *Spiritual Matters* than they otherwise would. In *St. Jerom's* Age their Condition was better, because *Christianity* had got into the Throne, as well as into the Empire. Yet for all this, the *intire Sanctification* of the *Lords-Day* proceeded slowly; and that it was the work of time to bring it to perfection, appears from the several steps the *Church* made in her *Constitutions*, and from the *Decrees* of Emperors and other Princes, wherein

(153) *Nisi quod necesse est, nefas habetur facere, Fest.*
Vid. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 16. & Servium in Virg. Georg.

the prohibitions from *Servile* and *Civil* Business, advanced by degrees from one species to another, 'till the Day had got a considerable figure in the World. Now therefore the Case being so much altered, the most proper use of Citing those old Examples, is only, in point of *Doctrine*, to show, that *Ordinary Work*, as being a compliance with *Providence* for the support of *Natural Life*, is not *sinfull* even on the *Lords-Day*, when *necessity* is loud, and the *Laws* of that *Church* and *Nation* where we live, are not against it. This is what the *first Christians* had to say for themselves, in the works they did on *that Day*. And if those Works had been then judged a *Prophanation* of the *Festival*, I dare believe, they would have suffered *Martyrdom* rather than been guilty. But where this Plea is wanting, what was *no Sin* in *them*, may be a *Sin* in *us*, when we have not only opportunities and liberty to sanctify the Day wholly, but not to do it, is a *transgression* of our *Laws*, which command and oblige the *Conscience* to a thorough observation of it, inflict *Temporal Penalties* on *Offenders*, and which to obey (especially in those instances wherein God is concern'd) is what the *Gospel* requires, and must needs be understood a piece of true *Piety*. And *this appeal* to the *Primitive Times*, is not to be taken as if those *Authors* would warrant us, by what our *Fathers* did in *former Ages*, to do the *same* in *this*, but only to maintain the *Argument*, That *common work*, when it is no *hindrance* to *Devotion*, is not *Criminal* even on the *Lords-Day*, were our *Circumstances* such as our *Ancestors* labour'd under. But because our *Condition* is better, as it would be an *Overt Act* of high *Ingratitude* to God to let our *Secular* affairs interpose and intrude into his *Service*, now there is no such necessity for it: So it would be withall a

Disobedience

Disobedience to our Laws and Magistrates to do any thing of that kind ; and the Apostle saith, they that resist shall purchase to themselves Damnation.

B. Well, Sir, to come to your *Notion*. Were the *Lords-Day*, as you hold, an *Humane Institution*, what an ill influence might this Doctrine have on the minds of Men, who will be ready to think that they may make bold with a thing which has not the Authority of Divine Appointment to settle it, and so be induced to further *prophaneness*, except in such notorious instances of irreligion, where the *Law* terrifies them, and yet in the Punishing of which, the *Magistrate* is almost as remiss as themselves. Whereas on the other side, where the contrary Principle prevails, “ It not
 “ only brings Men to Church to worship God, but
 “ also obligeth them in Conscience, to do something
 “ extraordinary in their Families on the *Lords-Day*,
 “ towards the Educating them in the nurture and
 “ fear of the Lord, beyond what they think them-
 “ selves bound to do on the Week-Days ; so that if
 “ this were an error, it would be an happy error, as
 “ being the occasion of bringing Men to the worship
 “ of God, and knowledge of the truth. And truly,
 “ if I were perswaded that the other Opinion [that
 “ the Sanctification of the *Lords-Day* hath no
 “ other ground than Ecclesiastical Constitution]
 “ were a Truth ; I should think it a Truth not ne-
 “ cessary to be published.

A. (154) The Question is not what is fit to be Preached, but what is Truth, (155) which is able enough to defend it self. (156) and St. Chrysostom pronounces that Man a betrayer of it, who

(154) Hobs against Bramhall. (155) *Magna est vis, veritatis. Et facile se per seipsam defendit, Senec. Ep.*
 (156) In Matth.

takes refuge in indirect Means to uphold it. (157) And if People will be scandalized at the *Truth* because it is not just *such* as they would have it, it is much better to let the scandal continue, than to let *Truth* be modelled to their humour. It is the Apostles Rule that we should *not do evil that good may insue*. Nor can it be prudent and safe, to make that a *Divine Doctrine*, which is *not* so, for fear it becomes a *Reason* to call in question *those* which really are. That the *Lords-Day* ought to be seriously and solemnly kept, is agreed on all hands; but if Men will use such Arguments for the observation of it, as cannot abide the trial, in this case instead of inforcing it, they do but tempt Prophane Persons to neglect it the more, who will be apt to judge the *Day* it self to be as weakly grounded, as their *Reasons* are weak, which they offer to maintain it by, and procure it a greater veneration. We cannot therefore admit the *Lords-Day* to be an *Institution* of *Christ* or his *Apostles*, because the proofs to make it so, are very insufficient, and give occasion of *scandal*. Yet tho' it will not bear that Character, a Character so *strictly Divine*, as many would have it, yet we are not destitute of very solid *Reasons* to recommend it, such as are not so liable to exceptions, but if well examined may be very forcible to ingage us to keep it. For we say it is a *Law of Nature* to set apart some *particular Times* for the worship of God; and it is a *Law of the Church and State* that *Sunday* should be the *Set time* to do him Service in; and therefore on this account it obliges the *Conscience*, and a Man certainly Sins in transgressing it. It was resolved before, that no Law in the two Tables obliges a *Christian*, as a *Law of Moses*, but as a *Law of Nature*, which binds all Mankind of what Nation or name soever. And such I take the *Lords-Day* to be, a *certain time* which *Nature* has fix'd for Divine Worship, and which the *Church* has determined to the *Seventh*, and to the *first of the Seventh*, or the *first Day* of the Week. I say, the Church (which the Gospel injoyns us to hear) from

(157) Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur scandalum nasci quam veritas relinquatur. Aug. de lib. Arb.
the

the beginning of *Christianity* to this present time has made this comment on Nature, and our *Civil Governours* press it, whom we are commanded to obey *not only for wrath but Conscience sake*. So that tho' 'tis not expressly said, *keep Sunday* (or the *Lords-Day*, or the *first Day of the Week*) *holy*, yet seeing *Nature* proposes some *set time*, and the Church of God requires *such a set time* for our Service, is not this the same thing, as if God himself had said these words from Mount *Sion* which he said by *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, *Remember to keep holy, &c.* I conclude therefore thus, That if neither the *Law of God* nor *Man* did require this Day to be celebrated as it is or should be, yet considering that my natural understanding tells me, that God ought to be worshipped, not only in a pious and vertuous Life, but also on *stated times*, in a formal and set Devotion; and remembering what I read in the Holy Book, that God heretofore appointed a *Seventh-Day* to be adored in, I would of my self pitch on *this proportion of time*, i. e. a *Seventh Day*, in deference to that All-wise Example; and the *first of the Seven* in memory of my *Saviour's* Rising: And I should have been well pleased, had this proceeded from my own *private choice* to make it a voluntary oblation. However since I find in the same Sacred Volume that *Obedience is better than Sacrifice*, I am not the less pleas'd for having this opportunity to show my obedience and conformity to my *Superiours Will* in what they command so agreeable to my own. And I do wish with all my heart that the opposite Opinion doth not proceed from a Principle of *Pride and Disaffection* in some Men, who will strain hard for *new Reasons* to support the grandeur of the *Lords-Day*, because they would not be beholding to the Piety and Industry of those to whom in reality the *Institution* is owing. Whereas for my part, I should think my self obliged to bless God that I live in subjection to a *Christian Government*, where this and other Duties are proposed, and *whose Laws* tend so much to the better execution of 'em.

And so I take my leave for this time.

The End of the Second Dialogue.

The Third DIALOGUE.

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R than

than read at home. *The Reasons. The necessity of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. St. Paul's unworthiness, in 1. Cor. 11. 28. examined. No Plea to keep others from the Holy Table.*

B. **I** Have almost lost my Breath, Sir, by endeavouring to overtake you; For seeing you at a little distance and walking gently, I was invited to mend my pace, out of the Ardent desire I have to enjoy your Company; But truly had you not stopt, as you did, at this Place, I had not been able to reach you.

A. Your long confinement to your Chamber and Chair causes this feebleness. For not only the *Distemper* has contributed to it by abating the Animal Spirits, the want of which brings a faintness on you, but the *Disuse* of your Legs has given a great check to the motive faculty, which putting you to more pains than usual at other times, you now walk with greater difficulty. Pray therefore rest your self on this Rail for so much time at least as to recover your Breath, otherwise I confess it will little ease you. [*A pause for sometime.*]

B. What means, Sir, this silence and *Seriousness* which I have observed ever since I came to you.

A. I thank you for your humanity to give my *Silence* that Name, which according to the way of the World, might have been construed into *Sullenness* and want of humour. For People no further consider *Man* than as a *conversible Creature*, whereas he has a *reflexive* as well as *communicative faculty*, and ought to *think* before he *speaks*, which being rarely done, this Precipitation and haste in venting our conceptions before we take time to form 'em, tho' it be generally called *agreeableness* and *freedom*, yet is the reason why our Ordinary conversation is so frothy and vain. But without complement, my
for-

forbearance to speak had some regard to *you* and *your condition*. For I know one word begets another, and to ingage you in Discourse before you had well recovered your self, I thought 'twould be unkind, because perhaps I might by that means cause a greater decay of Spirits than your coming hither had brought you to.

B. Indeed I remember 'twas a Lesson the *Physicians* taught me and those about me during my illness, that I should *talk* little, and I stand obliged to you that you thus consult my Condition.

A. The reason is, Because the *Spirits* issue out with the *Voice*, and are constantly employ'd to form it. And if this be continued for any time it makes a Man as *faint* and *feeble*, as any other Work or Motion whatever. So that this was truly *one* reason of my silence, though I cannot say it was the *only One*; and not to give you the trouble of asking me, it is this. You see the Glories of this Evening; and can we see and not Admire, Love, and Adore the Almighty Wisdom of our God, which gave *Being* to all those things which concurr to make it so. Behold what Beauties, what Figures, what Colours those little *Clouds* in the Air represent, by the Reflection of the *Sun-Beams*, which according to their quantity and bulk, more or less affect 'em, *what Painter*, *what Paint* can imitate 'em? How wonderfully and variously do they move, and shape, and furnish that Region? But how much more wonderfully and variously does that *Flaming Globe* (that has just taken its leave of us) show it self, which causes and with such difference inlightens 'em? With what Pride do those *Trees* spread abroad and shake their *Leaves*? And how do the *Fields* smile in their variegated *Greens*, which the Gayest steal from them to make themselves wantonly fine? Those *Sheep*; and these *Cattel* here feeding; the *Birds* which

with such *sweetness* and *variety* of note have so often entertain'd you and me, in and near this place, whence had they all their beginning? Could *Atoms* by their diversity of *Sympathies* produce these Kinds? Could they digest and hook themselves into these manifold forms, and after an Eternal motion cling into such or such Bodies, as we now see 'em? But how came these *Atoms* by their own Being? Did *Chance* do all this? 'Tis as ridiculous to say it, as to avouch that the *Timber* of yonder House hew'd and framed it self, and that the *Stones* and *Mortar* luckily conspired to make that building. To talk of *Nature*, is to affirm that the *Virtues*, *Inclinations* and *Tendencies* of the Creatures produced themselves. Or if we mean by *Nature*, that *Efficacy* and *Power*, which gives 'em their different Operations, under another Name we signify God. Can a Man, my Friend, see these mighty Works and not think, and not reverence the *Divine Artist* that made 'em? It was this, for sometime before and since you came, which caused my Meditation. For I was willing to make my Diversion profitable, and while in my walk I pleased my *Eye* with this variety of Objects, I was desirous they should impress my *Heart*; and beholding, as I went along, these several Works, (a) I consider'd 'em as invitations to magnify the *Creator*.

B. This ought to be done by us all, and 'tis the proper use to be made from beholding the Works of God. But alas, generally speaking, *Familiarity*, and the continual sight of the Creatures have weakned this Reflection. *Nature* grown common is lessen'd in her Beauty; and because she is now tied to Laws and *Rules*, for that reason she is become less venerable. The constant

(a) *Wisd.* 13. 4. 5.

course of *second Causes* has almost defaced the notion of the *First* ; And we are at length arrived to such a pitch of *Infidelity*, that we more admire that *Carver* or *Painter*, who can *imitate Nature* well, than that *God* who *made* both *Her* and *Them*. But I have a better example now before me ; and I am well pleased that you have given me so fair an Opportunity to renew the Discourse on our late Subject——I mean , the *Sabbath* or *Lord's-Day*, the *names* and *notion* of which have been fully explain'd, and there remains now no more than to speak of the *end* and *design* of it, and what we are to do to observe it well, which indeed is the principal part of this Religious Question.

You say, Sir, you have been contemplating the Works of God, and making some Pious Reflections on the particulars of the Creation. And was not *this Day* set a part to be a (b) *Memorial of the Creation*, and a *sign* by which might be known when the Creation was finisht? I speak in the general, without the distinction of *Jew* and *Christian*, and those particular Obligations they lie under *as such* to Celebrate the *Seventh-Day*. As we are all the Children of *Abraham*, this is our *common reason*; And we adjourn all *civil business* till *this Day* be over, that so we may have leisure to reflect on the Creatures, and use 'em as so many steps or links to get to the *Chair* of our *Jehovah*, and there see those Divine *Attributes* of *Wisdom*, *Power* and *Goodness*, which gave 'em *Being*, *Motion* and *Life*.

A. He who employs his Thoughts about the *Creation*, ought to advance his speculation and end in what you mention, or else he opens his *Eyes* barely to serve his *fancie*, but his *Heart* will be

(b) τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ὑπόμνημα καὶ σημῆσον τῷ εἰδέναι τὴν
τῆς κτίσεως ἡμέραν. Clem. Constit. l. 7, c. 23, & Atl. 11 af.
de Sab.

as cold and close shut as it was before. When I would be said to admire the Creature, 'tis not to be supposed I terminate there or fix my self wholly on that Object, but I look on this as an *effect* of a much more Excellent *cause*. And if I wonder at the *Act*, in an higher degree I admire the *Power*, and while my *Senses* and *Understanding* are thus engaged, my *Affections* grow warm, and at length I *Love* what I find reason to *Admire*.

B. Undoubtedly the study of *Nature* should conclude with *God*. And this I take to be the *Insinuation* of that strict *Rest* among the *Jews* on this *Day*, wherein (c) every *Man* was to abide in his *Tent*, and not go out of his place, which tho' superstitiously abused afterwards to that degree, that in whatsoever (d) *Habit*, *Place* or *Gesture*, they were on the *Sabbath*, in the same they continued until the *Evening*; yet their true meaning was, that they were not to divert their *Thoughts* from the great *Business* of the *Day*, which referred to the *rest* of *God* after the *Creation*, by going forth to act in their *Ordinary Affairs*, as in the gathering of *Manna*, or making the like *Provision* for *Secular Life*. Otherwise to my thinking, their walking abroad did not a little contribute to the *design* of the *institution*, if security could have been given that they would employ their *Eyes*, as you have done this *Evening*, to behold the *Creatures*, and be thence summoned to consider the *Maker*.

A. The *Rest* of the *Jews* was a significant *Emblem* of the *Rest* of *God*: And the keeping of the *Day* in that manner was a *Profession* of their *Faith*, and a kind of *Declaration* to the *Gentiles*, that their *God* was he who made *Heaven* and *Earth*, and that they

(c) *Exod.* 16. 29. (d) *Origen*, Πτεῖ ἀρχαῖ 1. 4. *Selden* de Jur. Nat. 1. 3. c. 9.

adored him as such. (e) "For all Nation had some-
 "thing in their Ceremonies whereby they signified the
 "God they worshipped. ——— In the Revelations the
 "worshippers of the Beast receive his mark; and the
 "worshippers of the Lamb carry his and his Father's
 "mark in their Foreheads. And hence came in the use
 "of the Cross in Baptism, as the mark of Christ, the
 "Deity to whom we are initiated, and was used in all
 "Benedictions, Prayers and Thanksgivings, in token
 "they were done in the name and Merits of the crucified
 "Jesus. Agreeably to this Principle and Custom of all
 "Religions, of all Nations, of all Vassals, the Lord
 "Jehovah Creator of Heaven and Earth, ordain'd to
 "his People this Observation of the Sabbath-Day, for
 "a sign and cognizance, that he and no other should be
 "their God; it is a sign between me and you, that I Jeho-
 "vah am your God; — as if he had said it is a sign that
 "the Creator of Heaven and Earth is your God. And by
 "sanctifying the Seventh Day, after they had laboured
 "Six, they profess themselves Vassals, and worshippers of
 "that only God who had made Heaven and Earth. And
 "who having spent Six Days in that great Work, rested
 "the Seventh-Day, and therefore commanded them to
 "observe this sutable distribution of their time, as a Badge
 "and Livery, that their Religious Service was Appropri-
 "ated to him alone. Thus Mr. Mede, and he has
 the Authority of St. Cyril for it, who gives the
 same account of the Seventh-day, "Because, saith
 "he, the Jews became infected with the Idolatries of
 "Ægypt, which worshipped the Sun, Moon and Stars,
 "and the Host of Heaven (as is insinuated Deut. 4.
 "19.) therefore that they might understand the Hea-
 "vens to be God's Workmanship, he willeth them to
 "imitate their Creator, that resting on the Sabbath-
 "Day, they might the better comprehend the reason of
 "the Festival. Which if they did, and rested on that

(e) Mr. Mede on Ezek. 20.

“ Day, wherein God had rested, it was an open Con-
 “ fession that all things were made by him, and conse-
 “ quently that there was no other besides him. So that
 the Ceremony carried with it the Nature of an Ar-
 gument to prove the true God, and silence the Phi-
 losophers in their several Hypotheses, concerning the
 Eternity of the World, or the manner of making it.
 And if the Jews rested, it was in imitation of God
 whose they were, and who resting that Day taught
 them by his Example to do so too. Neither can I
 imagine their rest to be simply idleness, or no more
 than a cessation from servile labour, which was un-
 derstood in those Days, as it is thought, a piece of
 Divine Worship, because done in Obedience to the
 Precept, but that rather they minded, in some
 proportion the sense of that vacation. And, as
 God's rest was a reflection on what he had done the
 Six Days before, and as the Psalmist speaks (f) A
 rejoicing in his Works, so they may be allowed to
 spend the Day or Part of it in some such Holy Me-
 ditations. And examining into the several Benefits
 and Blessings, which accrued to themselves by it,
 they were invited to Praise God, who had been so
 much a Father and Benefactor to them. And thus
 Maimonides, expounds that of Exodus 20. 8.
 Remember the Sabbath-day to Sanctifie it. (g) “ It is
 “ commanded, saith he, to sanctifie it with words,
 “ both at coming in and going out. At the coming in,
 “ to bless God who hath given his Sabbath for a remem-
 “ brance of the Creation of the World, a remembrance
 “ of the coming out of Ægypt, and who of his love
 “ hath chosen, and sanctified his Church above all Peo-
 “ ple. And at the going out, to bless him again, for
 “ making a separation between the holy and prophane,
 “ between light and darkness, between Israel and other

(f) Ps. 104. 31. (g) Tract. de Sab.

“ Nations,

“ *Nations, between the Seventh-day and the other Six.* So that 'tis no ill gloss that of *Ferus*, on *Exod.* 16. 29. *Let every Man abide in his place;* (b) Let every one retire within himself and examine his Conscience, otherwise he is a very ill observer of *this rest*, who makes no difference between *Good Works* and *common labour*, but equally refrains *both*, when the design of forbearing the *latter*, was only for an opportunity to attend the *other*. The *rest* of God himself is not strictly so. *My Father hitherto worketh and so do I*, saith Christ, *John* 5. 17. He still goes on in the Works of *Providence*, to preserve and govern the World, and do such things as tend to his Glory. And thus we are to apply (i) his rest to our selves, not in a literal laying aside *all Work*, but only *such* as are *impediments* to the proper Work of the *day*, which is to *think* of God and *adore* him. And this is indeed the (k) τὸ ἴδιον τῆς Σαββάτου, and we use it as a *means* to lead us to the Knowledge of God, and by meditating on the *History* of the *Creation* be moved to magnifie him.

And it may be Credited, that the *Jews* themselves spent the *day* in these *exercises* of the *Mind*, or else what occasion had they for that vast number of *Synagogues* we find among 'em! For there were in *Jerusalem* besides the *Temple*, no less than 460. as *Rabbi Phinehas* reckons 'em, though others say, 480 and 481. (l) from an Hebrew word, in *Is.* 1. 20. whose Numeral Letters, being put together amount to that summ. And that they constantly attended 'em, appears from that saying of

(b) *Maneat apud se & conscientiam suam scrutetur.*

(i) *Lex Sabbati Opera humana non divina prohibuit.* Tertul. ad uxor. *Omne opus tuum non facies—de humano Opere definit, &c.*—Adv. Marcion. (k) Athan. de Sab. (l) *Stillingf. Iren. p. 2. c. 6. §. 5.*

their Doctors, (m) *He who lives in a place where a Synagogue is, and will not go to it must be accounted a very ill Neighbour.* Now the use they put their Synagogues to, is partly discovered from the two Apartments they gave 'em. The One was the Room (n) for *Canonical Scripture*, where the *Law* and the *Prophets* were kept and read, (o) the Other, the room of *Traditions*, where the *Sayings* of the Fathers were expounded and taught the People. So that their business there was One while to hear the word of God as they had it written; and another, to be instructed in some things not Recorded in the other Book, yet required attention, as being taken (so it was pretended) from the mouths of the holy Men, in a way of Supplement or comment on the other, yet not deserving equal veneration, because we see the *Repositories* were not the same.

And that the *Law* was read, and expounded in their Synagogues on the Sabbath-day, is evident from St. Luke 4. 16. where the Custom of our Lord shows the Practice of the Jews, and gives us an account of what was done at such times. There we find (according to the several Stages we meet with in the Arabic Version) that they divided the Scripture into several Portions, one of which they read every Sabbath, and then Preach'd on it. That of *Isaiah*, happen'd to be the Lesson of this Sabbath, the Evangelist speaks of above, (p) *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*—Which when Christ had read standing (being a Gesture always used out of reverence to the holy Book) he returned the Book to the (q) Minister, and then sat down (which every Teacher

(m) *Mai non. in Tephil. c. 8. (n) Domus libri. (o) Domus doctrinae*—vid Dr. Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr.* (p) *Il. 61. 1, 2. (q) Ministro Synagoga*—*qui legenti adstitit summa cura observans ne quid falso aut incongrue legeretur, revocansq; corrigensq; si quid lapsum.* Dr. Lightfoot, on Matth. 4. 23.

was allowed for his ease) to clear and apply it. This is further confirmed by St. James, Acts 15. 21. *Moses in old time hath in every City them that Preach him, being read in the Synagogue every Sabbath-day, read and preach'd; and this for many Generations before, to show it the usage of their Ancestors and no new-thing.* And it is not to be thought that their Sermons wanted Auditories, for in that passage of St. Luke it is expressly said, *That all wonder'd at the gracious words that proceeded out of his Mouth.* And elsewhere, *the common People heard him gladly.* And this not out of Levity or principle of Novelty, but as it was the *old way*, and in compliance with their Constitution and Duty, or else it had quickly commenced an Article against him and them; so rigorous were the Jewish Priests in the most minute parts of their Religion.

B. I think they say, the building and use of Synagogues commenced after the Captivity, when the Jews returning from Babylon wanted Places for the Divine-worship, and therefore the Temple being destroy'd, they erected these Conveniences for meeting together, as some little Monuments and resemblances of it. And the Priests finding 'em necessary for the Peoples edification, continued them afterwards when the second Temple was quite finished, as places for Prayers and Sermons, but reserved the Sacrifices as a Privilege peculiar to the other as the Mother-Church.

A. This is the general Opinion. For though St. James speaks of *Ancient times*, yet it must be understood only of some considerable time, *some time before* very short of Antiquity. And whereas it is threatned, Levit. 26. 31. *I will bring your Sanctuaries into desolation,* by which the Hebrews would signifie their Synagogues, yet after the way of Scripture in several Places, where for sound-sake the plural number is used, it means no more than

than (r) the *Tabernacle* or *Temple*; which from the *diverse* rooms or *Divisions* of it, *i. e.* the *Court*, the *Quire*, and the *Holy of Holies*, was called *Sanctuaries*, though they were only *one structure* or *house*. That which gives the utmost probability of their being *older* than the *Babylonish-Captivity*, is, because *Asaph* Co-temporary with *King David*, saith, (s) *They have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land*. But here the Hebrew word is of greater extent; and because in the general it intends somewhat *certain* and *definite*, therefore 'tis variously applied to *things, times, and places*. And if we consider it under those *Limitations*, the most credible translations give it, it will hardly disprove the received Opinion. (t) For the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Chaldee*, *Aethiopic*, *Greek*, and *Vulgar Latine* render it *Festivals*, and *St. Jerom* backs 'em with this reason, *because before the Temple at Jerusalem was built the Divine worship consisted chiefly in* (u) *tranquillity and mental Devotion*. And he adds, that the drift of this malice in taking away those distinctions of time, was, that *the honour due to God's Name might cease in the earth*, the observing of *certain days* being great helps to the *Memory*, and do not a little conduce to keep in mind *God* and his *Blessings*. And therefore with respect to this project of the *Enemy*, the stifling of their *holidays* was more effectual to make them forget *God*, than the burning of their *Synagogues* could be, because in this *last Calamity*, their *Assembling* only was hindered, but as to the *former*, it had its effect on 'em even within their *Houses*. (w) *Calvin* will have this

(r) *Put a tabernaculum vel templum*. A Lapide, Ainsworth in loc. (s) *Pl. 74. 8.* (t) *Perdamus omnes festivitates Dei*. Syr. and Chal. *Abrogemus dies festos de terra*, Arab. *Quiescere faciamus solennitates dom.* Æth. Vulg. Lat. *καταπαύμεθα τὰς ἑορτὰς Κυρίου*, Sept. (u) *In mentis tranquillitate & devotione*. in Pl. (w) in Pl.

complaint of the *Psalmist* to refer to the Days of *Antiochus*. And if his conjecture be good, the words contain a *Prophecy* of Persecution in future Ages, and therefore having no relation to the days of *David*, in and near whose Reign we do not read of any such Desolation, they do not prove the *Antiquity* of these *Synagogues*.

Yet (x) *Josephus* hath these words. “It was
“the will of *Moses* our *Law-maker*, that we should not
“only once or twice or ofner bear the *Law*, but every
“week, omitting other business, we all should come to
“learn the *Law*——— And for this reason he pre-
fers *Moses* before all other *Law-givers*, who did not
take the like care to have their People instructed.
But I question whether this Testimony infers ma-
ny places, or only the *Temple*, where *Moses* did
command the *Law* to be read at certain solemn times,
(y) as at the year of release. But to make this the
Duty of every *Sabbath*, not one word is recorded
in the *Law* to that purpose, neither in the *Temple*
nor elsewhere. ’Tis not unlikely, but that *Josephus*
(as also *Philo*, who has the same passage) might have
an Eye to the practice of later Ages, and apply the
precept of *Moses* about reading the *Law*, to the
interpretation made of it, at and before his own
times, when the extraordinary ways of instruction
ceasing, they more frequently read the *Law* and
made Discourses on it, for the information of the
People. And for further confirmation, I must
not omit what the Bishop of *Ely* hath noted on a
Passage that fell out in the Days of *Josiah* (y)
“It is a thing, saith he, to be admired, that if the
“reading and expounding the *Law*, had been in conti-
“nual use among the *Jews* every *Sabbath-Day*, there
“should be found in the days of King *Josiah*, one copy

(x) Adv. Apion. l. 2. (yy) Bishop *White* on the *Sabbath*.
only

“only or Book of the Law in the most solemn place of
 “God’s worship, i. e. the Temple at Jerusalem. And
 “that Hilkiah the Priest should find this Book hid in a
 “Corner, and present it to the King as a very great
 “rarity. Every Man may in reason conceive, that if
 “the Law had been commonly read and expounded eve-
 “ry Sabbath, either in the Temple or other Publick As-
 “semblies of the Kingdom of Judea, there could not
 “have been such a scarcity of Bibles or Books of the
 “Law.

The Question proposed by the *Shunamite’s Husband* (when she desired to have an Ass Saddled to ride to *Elisha*, for the recovery of her dead Child) is brought as an argument to support the other Assertion, because he asks her, To what end she should give herself that trouble, since it is neither the new Moon nor the Sabbath, meaning the stated times for such Applications, and the ordinary Days, (z) saith *Junius*, to consult God and hear his word. For in the Kingdom of *Israel*, where Religion was much corrupted, the more Pious sort of People ran hither and thither to advise with the Prophets, and no sooner heard they of such a Person as *Elisha* was *, but by Flocks they immediately resorted to him, especially on Days Consecrated to Religion; but we are now speaking of the Ordinary Ministry, and the Ordinary places, of Divine and Publick Worship, as were the *Synagogues* afterwards, and I conceive this Passage about the *Shunamite* no proof of that Point, and yet the whole Scripture before the Captivity affords no better.

Be it so or otherwise. That which concerns us to remember is, the Use they were put to rather than when they began. And as to this, the very

(z) In loc. (*) *Lyra* in loc.

Name shows the design of 'em, for they were intended for Conveniencies for People to Meet and Pray in. And so (a) *Maimonides* defines 'em, and saith, "That where-ever there was a competent number of Jews, and ten Men learned in the Law, and of sufficient leisure to give their attendance, there 'twas necessary an House should be built, whither every Body might betake himself to say his Prayers in, at the Hours of Prayer. And this House is called a *Synagogue*. Which no Man was to pass by during the Service, but all were required to come to it, and not to Pray at home when they might do it with the Congregation. Women and Children all went thither, the One sort to hear the Law, the Other to be Catechized in the principles of Religion, and this so Universally that they were stigmatized and look'd upon with an ill Eye, who did not thus Assemble with their Neighbours and Brethren. 'Twould be too tedious to present you with the many *inscriptions* on the Walls of these Houses, as on some of our Churches, to be so many *Lessons* for Silence, Attention, Humility, &c. to put the *Votaries* in mind, what behaviour and zeal was required from 'em while they made their appearance there. Nor will I go about to give you every particular Prayer which the *Ministers* used, and to each of which the Congregation said, *Amen*. 'Tis very well known, (b) saith *Dr. Lightfoot*, that such holy addressees to God, with some Portions of the Law and the Prophets, were the integral parts or chief ingredients of their Sabbath Service. And in all this their Worship was solid and grave.

And on our *Lord's-Day*, it calls for imitation and conformity, as in those times when the *Chri-*

(a) In *Tephil*. (b) *Hora Hebraica*.

*stian Sabbath was Celebrated in the Observation of the same particulars, " In forbearing secular Work
 " and minding Spiritual, saith Origen, such as meet-
 " ing in the Church, and there hearing those Divine
 " Lectures, and Lessons publicly read and explained to
 " the People. — To whose words I shall add those
 of a Provincial Synod held at Mafcon in France,
 which shows what Anciently was, and should be al-
 ways done on this Day. (c) " We ought to observe
 " carefully the Lord's-day, which hath given us a New-
 " Birth, and delivered us from our Sins. Let no Man
 " therefore presume to attend his Suit, nor plead causes,
 " nor pretend necessity to yoke his Cattel, and Plough on
 " this Day: But spend the time in Hymns and the Praises
 " of God. And if the Church be not at too great a
 " distance, let him be sure to hasten thither, and pour forth
 " his Soul in Tears and Prayers, making both Eyes and
 " Hands share in the Devotion. It is the Everlasting
 " day of Rest insinuated to us under the shadow of the
 " Jewish Sabbath. And 'tis very meet we should cele-
 " brate this day with one accord, whereon we are made
 " what we were not. For we were the Servants of Sin,
 " but are now become Children of Grace by his Resurrecti-
 " on, whose Righteousness is imputed to us. Let us give
 " our Lord a free and chearful Service, by whose Good-
 " ness we are ransomed out of the dark dungeon of Er-
 " rour, and Impiety. — And if any Man neglects,
 " and sets at naught this our wholesome Advice, let
 " him be well assured, that God will punish him as he de-
 " serves, and he shall be also subject to the Censures of
 " the Church. If he be a Lawyer he shall lose his cause;
 " if Husbandmen or Labourer, corporally suffer; but if
 " in Holy Orders, we command him to be suspended for
 " the space of Six Months. — Thus, or to this*

(c) Concil. Mafcon, Canon. 1, Apud Caranzam sub Gunthrano Reg.:

effect that *Canon*. And there are a great many other *Canons*, *Decrees*, *Edicts*, and *Laws* to the same purpose, which perhaps it may not be loss of time to present you with, to let you see the *Piety* of all *Ages* in this particular, and the care they had to have the *Lord's-day* kept.

R. If the trouble be not too great, I shall be glad to hear 'em collected.

A I begin with the Emperour *Constantine*, who, as soon as he had espoused the interest of *Christianity*, made it his particular business that his subjects should reverence this *Festival*, and so issued out this *Decree*: (d) "Let all Judges, Citizens and Tradesmen rest on the venerable *Lord's-day*. But as for such as live remote in the Country, they may have licence to attend their husbandry, because it often falls out that there is no better day for sowing their Seed or Planting the Vines; and therefore let them take the advantage of the Weather, lest otherwise they run the hazard of losing those Blessings which the Divine Bounty bestows upon us. Thus runs the *Edict* in the *Justinian Code*, about the Year 321. Wherein it seems the *Farmer* might work on the *Day*, for fear the community should suffer by neglecting the Opportunity of *Sowing* or *Planting*. Yet *Eusebius* who lived in that Emperour's Reign, and was Privy to all his Counsels of this kind, doth not mention the *Exception*, but saith, (e) "He invited and stirred up Mankind to observe the day; — particularly, the whole Roman Empire was obliged to it. — And in his *Panegyrick* on that Prince, he affirms, That *Constantine* "Commanded all the World, as well Islands as Continent, to meet every Week, and Cele-

(d) *Omnes Judices*, &c. — *Dat. Non. Martij Crispo 2. & Constant. 2. Coss. Cod. Justin. l. 3. t. 12. de feriis.* (e) *de Vit. Const. l. 4. c. 18. & de laud. Const. c. 17.*

“brate the Lord’s-day (f). And Sozomen giving an
 “account of the same *Edict*, saith, that He, (the
 “Emperour) required every Body, both Judges and
 “others, to forbear on the day all manner of busi-
 “nesses ——— However, ’tis not unlikely but there
 “might be such an indulgence granted the *Hus-*
bandman, because *Leo* afterwards takes notice of
 the reason, and thinks it not strong enough to ex-
 cuse the Country People.

A while after he sent out another *Proclamation*
 on this subject; intended both to quicken, and ex-
 plain the *Law* foregoing; And in this (g) *Manu-*
mission or giving Liberty to Slaves and Servants
 was made another *Exception*, as being a work of
Charity, and done in imitation of the Lord *Jesus*
 who lived, died, and on this day rose for our Redem-
 ption, to rescue us out of the Tyranny and Bon-
 dage of the Devil. Besides it did not a little con-
 tribute to the honour of the Church, and the encrease
 of Christianity, because this *Act* of discharging
 Bondmen, being to be done by or in the *Bishop’s*
 Presence, they who had the benefit of it, could
 not but respect them on this account, and were more
 easily brought to embrace the same Religion.

About the Year 381. *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and
Theodosius, being Emperours, an *Edict* came forth
 to prohibit all shews on the Lord’s-day. And it did
 not only hinder the Judges from sitting in open Court
 on the day, but it also forbid all *Arbitrations* (hither-
 to allowed as means of Peace) and the taking Cog-
 nizance of any pecuniary businesses. To which *Val-*
entinian and *Valens* added, that No Christian should
 on that day be brought before the Officers of the Ex-
 chequer, as being a vexation not to be reconciled to the
 Notion of our Christian Sabbath.

(f) Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 8. (g) *Emancipandi & manumit-*
tendi die festo cuncti licentiam habeant, &c. Vid. Niceph.
 Hist. l. 7. Sozom. l. 1. c. 8.

Five years after, This Law was revived by *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, (b) and some other days added for the like Observation, as the Emperour's *Birth-day*, and the day whereon the Empire began, with a *Week before and after Easter*.

In the Year 425. a Petition was presented *Theodosius the Younger*, by the Council of *Carthage*, praying, *That the Law made by Gratian* (much neglected) *against Publick Sights*, might be re-inforced. Accordingly that Prince renew'd the *Edict*, and Commanded, (i) *That the Cirques and Theatres in all Places should be shut up on the Lord's day, and some other Festivals* which he named, *That so all Christian People might wholly bend their minds to the Service of God*, to which those diversions were very prejudicial, the multitude at such times flocking more thither than they did to the Churches.

But the *Edict* of the Emperour *Leo* in the Year 469. *Zeno* and *Martian* being Consuls, is much fuller and stricter for the Observation of this great day. (k) "It is our will and pleasure, saith he, that the holy days dedicated to the most high God, should not be spent in sensual recreations, or otherwise profaned by suits of Law. Especially the Lord's-day, which we decree to be a venerable Day, and therefore free it of all Citations, Executions, Pleadings and the like avocations. Let not the Cirque or Theatre be open'd, nor Combating with Wild Beasts seen on it. And if either our Birth-day or Inauguration-day happen to fall upon it, we require it to be put off till the day following ——— If any will presume to offend in the Premises, if he be a military Man, let him lose his Commission; if other, let his Estate or Goods be confisca-

(b) *Timasio & Prom. Cols. Cod. Justin. l. 3. t. 12.* (i) *Cod. Theod.* (k) *Dies Festos Majestati altissima dedicatos, &c. Cod. Justin. l. 3. t. 12. de feriis.*

"*ted.* And whereas before in the Law of *Constantine* the *Farmer* was permitted to attend his Work on *this day*, which might sometimes fall out to be more proper, and seasonable than the rest of the *Week*, this *Emperour* would not continue the *Indulgence*, but orders *them* to forbear as well as their Fellow-Subjects. (1) "For, saith he, *As to the pretence*, that by this rest an opportunity may be lost---
 "This is a poor reason, considering that the fruits of the *Earth* do not so much depend on the diligence and pains of the *Men*, as on the efficacy of the *Sun* and the blessing of *God*. We command therefore all, as well *Husbandmen* as others to forbear work on *this day* of our *Restoration*. For if other People (meaning the *Jews*) keep the shadow of *this day* in a solemn rest from all secular Labour on their *Sabbath*, how much rather ought we to observe and celebrate the substance, a day so ennobled by our Gracious Lord who saved us from destruction.---Thus he. Yet he dispensed with People's meeting on *Sunday* in Order to compose differences, as works tending to *Charity*, and the reconciling of Neighbours, and therefore thought it not unbecoming the *day*, consecrated to him, who came into this World with peace on *Earth*, and good will towards *Men*, and who died, arose and ascended into Heaven to confirm, and seal a lasting peace between his *Father* and *Us*.

In the Year 588. *Gunthrum* King of *Burgundy*, and about two Years after *Clotair* King of *France*; And two Centuries forward, *Pepin*, another King of *France*, made *Laws* to the same effect; but being consider'd as the Acts of three Councils, by them called, *Mascon*, *Auxerre* and *Friuli*, we will chuse rather to take notice of 'em there.

(1) *Quonquam fructuum preservatio praeferendi posse videatur, &c. Statuimus, &c. Novel. Leon.*

The Third Dialogue. 261

Charles the Great, following the Example of his Father Pepin, convocated the Clergy in five several Places, to make *Canons* for the keeping of the Day; and withal published this *Edict*: “We do ordain (as
 “it is required in the Law of God) that no Man do a-
 “ny servile work on the Lord’s-day. i. e. That they
 “employ not themselves in the works of husbandry, in
 “dressing their Vines, ploughing their ground, making
 “hay, fencing or hedging, grubbing and felling trees,
 “digging in the mines, building houses, planting or-
 “chards; and that they do not go a hunting in the
 “fields, or plead in the Courts of Justice; that Wo-
 “men weave not, or dress cloth, do no needle-work,
 “or card wool, nor beat hemp, nor wash linen openly,
 “nor shear sheep: But that they come all to Church,
 “to magnifie the Lord their God, for those goods things
 “which on this day he bestowed upon ‘em. This Law
 was, as I said, back’d with the Authority of the
 Church; Yet in a little time, by the remissness of
 Lewis his Successor, it became very feeble; and
 thereupon an Address was made to the Emperours
 (Lewis and Lotharius) that they would be pleas’d
 to take some care in it, and send out some *Precept*
 or *Injunction*, more severe than what was hitherto
 extant, to strike terrour into their Subjects, and
 force ‘em to forbear their ploughing, pleading, and
 marketting, then grown again into use. Which was
 done, about the year 853; and to that End a *Synod*
 was called at Rome under the *Popedom* of Leo IV.

In this Century the Emperour Leo, surnamed the
 Philosopher, restrained the works of husbandry, which
 according to *Constantine’s Toleration*, was permitted
 in the East. The same care was taken in the West,
 by Theodorus King of the Bavarians, who made
 this Order, That, “If any person on the Lord’s day,
 “yoked his Oxen, or drove his Wain, his right side
 “Oxe should be forthwith forfeited; or if he made
 “Hay, and carried it in, he was to be twice admonished

"to desist, which if he did not, he was to receive no less than fifty stripes.

About the Year 1174. The Emperour *Emanuel Comnenus*, confirmed the decrees of his Predecessours, and forbid all access to the *Tribunals*, where no Judge was to sit except in very extraordinary and necessary cases.

Thus the *Civil Power* proceeded. Nor was the Church backward to assist in a point which so much concern'd her own Well-being. And therefore we find a great many *Constitutions*, and *Canons* on the same subject.

(m) At *Eliberis* a Town in *Spain*, a Synod met, where it was decreed, that "If any Citizen or other Person living in or near a City, absented himself from the Church three Lord's-days together, he was to be kept so long from the holy Sacrament--- In those days it seems a shameful punishment.

Some Years after, about 368. fate the Council of *Laodicea*, which (n) "required Christians not to judaize in keeping the Sabbath, but prefer the Lord's-day before it; and thereon rest from labour, if they could, but still as became the Professours of Christianity. Here it seems the clause in this Canon (if they can) makes it not necessary to forbear all manner of Work, unless they could well do it. And so *Zonaras* explains the place, as a mitigation of the *Civil Law*, which demanded an *Universal Cessation* of business on *Sunday*, excepting the *Husbandmen* who might go on in their way, for fear they might not have another day so favourable for their purpose. But here other People came under the same exception: And *Balsamon* instances such whose Po-

(m) Circa annum 307. Can. 21. Apud Caranzam: (n) Canon 29 Ἰοῦ δὲ Χριστιανὸς ἡδαιζέτω, &c. τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν εἴς τὴν ἀργίαν ---

verty, and wants justified their Labour even on the *Lord's-day*, without offence to the *Law* or their *Consciences*. I suppose these words respect the *times* in which the *Council* met, and that was before the *Empire* became *Christian*, when great numbers of *Men and Women*, who had entertain'd the *Gospel*, and were willing to submit themselves to the *Discipline* of the *Church*, being in the *Service* of *Infidel* Masters, they could not do it. So that the *Bishops and Fathers* then *Assembled*, took their *Case* into consideration, and for the ease of their *Minds* declared, they did not expect impossibilities from 'em. And if their *Masters* or *Mistresses*, would not suffer 'em to *Rest*, and go to *Church* on the *Lord's-day*, they might proceed in their *Common-work*, without fear or scruple.

About the Year 401. was held the fourth Council of *Carthage*, (o) which punished those with "*Excommunication, who neglecting the solemn Worship of God on this and other sacred times, spent the day in Plays and the like Diversions—* (p) And in another Council, in the same City, not long after, it was the request of the *Bishops* to the *Emperours* then in being, "*That all sights and shows should be laid aside on the Lord's-day, and other solemn Festivals, on which the People ran more to the Theatre than the Church, renouncing their Devotion when these vanities came in their way.*

Under *Clodoveus* King of *France*, met the *Bishops* in the first Council of *Orleans*, (q) where they obliged themselves and their *Successours*, to be always at the *Church* on the *Lord's-day*, except in *Case* of *Sickness* or some great *Infirmity*. And because they

(o) Can. 88. *Qui die solenni, &c. Excommunicet. r.* (p) Can. 64. circa an. 408. (q) *Episcopus si infirmitate, &c. Ecclesia die dom. deesse non liceat.* Can. 31. circa 507.

with some other of the Clergy in those days took Cognizance of Judicial matters, therefore by a Council at *Arragon*, about the Year 518. in the Reign of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, it was decreed, that (r) "No Bishop or other Person in holy Orders should
" examine or pass judgment in any civil Contro-
" versie on the Lord's-day.

In the Reign of King *Childebert*, met the third Council of *Orleans* in *France*, and then the Fathers took some pains to clear the notion of the *Christian-Sabbath*, and to keep People from *judaizing*, as many did in that Age. Yet they all agreed in this and resolved, that (s) "Men should rest on
" that day from Husbandry, dressing Vines, Sow-
" ing, Reaping, Hedging and the like, that so
" they might have leisure to go to Church, and
" say their Prayers. Wherein those who offended
" were to be punished by the Clergy. And about seven Years thence, in honour of the *Day*, and as a *Work* well becoming it, a *Constitution* was made by the same *Prince* in a fourth Council at *Orleans*: That "The Arch-deacon or some other Digni-
" tary of the Church, should take special care that
" all Prisoners, every Lord's-day, might be well
" relieved in what their necessities called for—
And herein he followed the Example of the Empe-
rour *Honorius*, who by a formal Edict, and under (t) a great penalty commanded the Judges "To
" suffer all sorts of Prisoners to go abroad on the
" Lords-day, with their Keepers, to ask the Cha-
" rity of well disposed People, and by no means
" hinder 'em to do the Duty of the Day. And withal
" permit 'em, to go to the Baths on those days to
" cleanse and refresh themselves.

(r) Concil. Tarracon. Canon 4. (s) Concil. Aurel. Can. 21.
circa 549. apud Caranz. (t) *Auri* 30. lib. 6. Baron. ad annum 409.
Not

Not above seven Years after this, the same *Childebert*, had another *Constitution*, which forbid (u) "*Bansatrices*, to ramble from Village to Village on the Lord's-day.

And because, notwithstanding all this care, the Day was not duly observed, the Bishops were again summon'd to *Mascon*, a Town in *Burgundy*, by King *Guntbrum*, and there they framed this Canon. (w) "Notice is taken that Christian People very much neglect, and slight the Lord's-day, giving themselves, as on other days to common Work, to redress which Irreverence for the future, we warn every Christian who bears not that name in vain, to give Ear to our advice, knowing we have a concern on us for your Good, and a Power to hinder you to do Evil. Keep then the Lord's-day, the day of our New Birth, whereon we were delivered, &c. as before.

About a Year forward, there was a Council at *Narbon*, which forbid (x) "All Persons of what Country or Quality soever, to do any servile Work on the Lord's-day. But if any Man presumed to disobey this Canon, he was to be fined if a freeman, and if a Servant, severely lashed. Or as *Survius* represents the penalty in the Edict of King *Recaredus*, which he put out, near the same time, to strengthen the decrees of the Council, "Rich men were to be punish'd with the loss of a

(u) Apud Sirmond. A. D. 554. *Bansatrices*, morrice-dancers, or some such People, who wandred up and down at all Hours and lead very lewd lives. *Du Fresne* thinks the word mistook for *Dansatrices*, from *Danser Saltare*, and perhaps it may have a French Etymology, *Childebert* using it in the Epistle he writ for the rooting out the relicks of idolatry. (w) Concil. Matisc. 2. Can. 1. A. D. 587. (x) *Omnis homo*, &c. Can. 4.

“Moiety of their Estates, and the Poorer sort
“with perpetual banishment.

In the Year of Grace 590. Another Synod was held at (y) *Auxerre* a City in *Champaign*, in the Reign of *Clotair* King of *France*, where it was decreed, or rather a Canon renew'd, made by his Predecessor *Chilperic*, twelve Years before, that “No
“Man should be allowed to Plough, nor Cart, or
“do any such thing on the Lord's-day.

Afterwards, about the Year 627. as *Caranza* dates it, was assembled the third Council of *Toledo*, intended chiefly against the *Arrian Heresie*, which had got footing in *Spain*, and with it a great neglect of the *Lord's-day*, which they took notice of Canon 22d. (z) “An irreligious Custom has prevail'd among the Common People, to give themselves
“up to lascivious dances on the Festivals of the
“Saints, and other Solemn times, when they
“should attend at the Divine Service, and not
“only sing unseemly Songs, but thereby
“disturb and Poison others, who are better disposed; which mischief that it may be removed out
“of all the Provinces, the Council leaves it to the fidelity, and care of the Ministers and Judges---
Accordingly *Recaredus* took great pains to see it executed, and great punishments were inflicted on the Contumacious. This Canon indeed with some others, mean for the most part [*Obscænas Voluptates*] immoral, and unwarrantable Pleasures, becoming neither the *Lord's-day*, nor any other day of the Week, such as *Women's Dancing Naked*, and *Men Fighting* till they killed one another, yet the reason reaches all diversions whatever, so far forth as they are found injurious to the honour and worship

(y) Antifiodorensis Synod. (z) Irreligiosa consuetudo, &c. Episc. Tolet. 3. Can. 22.

of the Day, while People make it no more than an Opportunity to indulge their Sins, and as our Homily speaks, *serve the Devil*.

At Chalons a City in Burgundy, about the Year 654, there was a Provincial Synod, which confirm'd what had been done by the third Council of Orleans (*), about the Observation of the Lord's-Day, namely, That (a) "None should plough or reap, or do any other thing belonging to Husbandry, on pain of the censures of the Church." -- Which was the more minded, because back'd with the secular Power, and by an Edict menacing such as Offended herein, who, if Bondmen, were to be soundly beaten, but if free had three admonitions, and then if faulty lost the third part of their Patrimony, and if still obstinate were made Slaves for the future.

And in the first Year of Eringius, about the time of Pope Agatho, there sate the 12th Council of Toledo in Spain, (b) where the Jews were forbid to keep their own Festivals, but so far at least observe the Lord's-Day, as to do no manner of work on it, whereby they might express their contempt of Christ or his Worship.

In the Year 692. was held the 6th General Council at Constantinople, where were present 125 Bishops, the Emperor himself, Constantinus Pogonatus, being President. The great question in it was concerning the Actions and Wills of Christ, which being thoroughly discuss'd, they condemn'd in the Issue Sergius, and his Adherents, who in the defence of Eutychianism, pleaded that there was but one Will in Christ. But before they broke up, they made two Canons relating to the Subject we are upon; The first respected the An-

(*) Concil. Aurel. 3. Can. 21. (a) Concil. Cabilonen. Canon. 18. apud Caran. (b) Concil. Tolet. 12. c. 9. apud Binium circa 681.
 anniversary

niversary of the *Lord's Resurrection*, which they would have to consist of a full Week, and to be spent in Attendance at the Church, *In singing Psalms and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, in a constant reading of the Holy Scriptures, in frequenting the B. Sacrament, with the like Testimonies, and evidences of celebrating that great Festival*, which that it might be the better kept, they prohibited *All Horse-races and other sights, apt to draw People aside from those Divine Services*. And then for the *Weekly Commemoration* of that great Miracle of Christ's rising out of the Grave, which makes the *Lord's-day* so solemn among us, they further added, *That if any Bishop or other Clergy-man, or any of the Laity absented himself from the Church three Sundays together, except in cases of very great necessity, if a Clergy-man he was to be deposed, if a Lay-man debarred the Holy Communion*.

At *Dingofolinum*, a Synod met about the Year 772. *Tassilo (c)* being Duke, where a Constitution was made, to inforce the Observation of the *Lord's-day*, *According to the directions of the Civil Law, and the Decrees of former Councils*. And if any offended in this kind, they were to be punished in the same manner, as the Law and those Councils had appointed. *(d)* Or as *Avicen* speaks, *Let every Man abstain from prophane employments and be intent on God's Worship, if any Man shall work his Cart on this day, or do any such common Business, his Team shall be presently forfeited to the publick use, and if the party persists in his folly, let him be sold for a Bondman*.

Some time after, disputes arising concerning the Doctrine of the *B. Trinity*, and the *Incarnation*

(c) D. of the *Baiorians* [*Bavarians*] Can. 1. (d) Hist. 1. 3.

of the second Person, (e) *Charles the Great*, summon'd the Bishops to *Friuli in Italy*, where *Paulinus* Patriarch of *Aquileia* being President, they decreed, " That all People should with due reverence and devotion honour the Lord's-Day, beginning on the Evening of the day before, and " that thereon they more especially abstain from " all kind of Sin, as also from all Carnal Acts " and secular Labours: And that they go to " Church in a Grave manner, laying aside all suits " of Law and Controversies, which might hinder " 'em to praise God's Name together.

Under the same Prince, another Council was called at (f) *Frankford in Germany*, about three Years after the former, and there the Limits or Boundaries of the *Lord's-day*, were determined from *Saturday Evening*, to *Sunday Evening*, that so there might be Uniformity in the time of their Worship, and the Conscience made easie by the certainty of the Hours, when they were to begin and end that days Service.

The same Emperour made a Constitution, (g) " That there should be no Markets on the Lord's-day, but only on such days as were allotted for " servile Business. And this he the rather did to Countenance what was decreed by the Bishops, in Five Councils at *Mentz, Rheims, Tours, Chalons* and *Arles*, which he called together the same Year [813.] all which forbid Markets, and other Worldly matters to be done on this day.

(h) " We forbid (saith the Council of *Arles*) " publick Markets, civil Disputes, and pleadings

(e) Circa annum Christi, 791. & Temp. Hadriani, a Paulino Aquileiensi convocat. in causa Trinitatis c. 13. (f) Can. 21. anno 794. (g) Capitul. Eccles. C. M. 21. (h) Conc Arel. 4. Can. 16. apud Bin.

"on the Lord's-day; as also Husbandry, and all manner of Work, except such as is proper for the day, and becomes the Divine Worship.

"(i) Let there be no Markets or Pleadings on the Lord's-day (saith the Council of *Tours*) which Christians ought to spend in the Praises of God, and Thanks for his Blessings, and to continue in so doing untill the Evening.

"(k) "We have decreed (saith the Council of *Mentz*.) that the Lord's-day be observed with all due Veneration. And that People to this end forbear all common work, from buying, selling and the like; And that no Criminal causes be heard, in order to punish Malefactors by Death or otherwise.

"(l) "In conformity to the Lord's Command (saith the Council of *Rheims*) let no Person presume to do any ordinary Work on Sundays, nor prosecute Law suits, nor go to Fairs or Markets; nor in a publick way to distribute doles, though in it self a work of Humanity and Charity.

Thus *four* of the aforesaid Councils spake; but the *Fifth*, that of *Chalons* taking notice, that notwithstanding the industry of the Church in several Assemblies before, the *Day* was much neglected, they entreated the help of the secular Power, and desired the Emperour by some Decree or Law of his to provide for the stricter Observation of it. Which he accordingly did, and left no Stone unturned, to secure the honour of the *Day*, and restrain his Subjects from abusing it.

His care succeeded; and during his Reign the *Lord's-day* bore a considerable Figure. But after

(i) Conc. Turon. 3. sub Car. Mag. [813] Can. 40. (k) Conc. Mogunt. sub. Car. M. Canon. 37. (l) Canon 35. sub Car. M. apud Binium:

his decease, it put on another Face. And thereupon Pope *Eugenius* in a Synod held at *Rome*, about the Year 826. observing, that there were certain Persons, especially Women, who spent their time in Dancing, Singing, &c. he gave directions "That the Parish-priest, should, from time to time, admonish such offenders, and wish 'em to go to Church and say their Prayers, lest otherwise they might bring some great calamity on themselves and Neighbours.

But these Paternal Admonitions turning to little account, a Provincial Council was held at (m) *Paris* about three Years after, under *Lewis* and *Lotharius* then Emperours, [829] wherein the prelates complain that "The Lord's-day was not kept with that reverence as became Religion, and the practice of their Forefathers, which was the reason that God had sent several Judgments on 'em, and in a very remarkable manner punished some People for slighting, and abusing it. For (say they) many of us by our own Knowledge, and some by hear-say know, that several Countymen following their Husbandry on this day, have been killed with Lightning, others being seized with Convulsions in their joints, have miserably perished---Whereby it is apparent, how high the displeasure of God was upon their neglect of this day. And at last they conclude, that "In the first place the Priests and Ministers, then Kings and Princes, and all faithful People be beseeched to use their utmost endeavours, and care that the Day be restored to its honour, and for the credit of Christianity more devoutly observed for the time to come.

(m) Conc. Parif. Can. 50.

And although *Matrimony* be an *holy Sign*, and *Emblem* of the strict *Union*, that is between *Christ* and his *Church*, and therefore no undecent or improper *Work* for such a day as this, sequestred, and consecrated to the uses of *Christian Religion*, yet for as much as at such a time, there is more *Lightness* and *Vanity*, than well comports either which the *Thing* it self or the *Festival*, it was decreed about seven Years after in a Council at *Aken*(*n*) under *Lewis the Godly*, that “ Neither *Pleadings*, nor “ *Marriages* should be allowed on the *Lord’s-day*-- And it was added, that “ As far as it was possible, “ there should be laid aside that ill *Custom*, then “ prevailing, of communicating seldom; and care “ was to be taken to have the *Sacrament* Admi- “ nistred every *Lord’s-Day*, for fear it might “ happen, that the long absence from the *Holy* “ *Communion* might indispose *People* for *Salva-* “ *tion*.

(*o*) Three Years after this, another Synod was called at *Rome*, by the abovesaid Emperours, and Pope *Leo* the Fourth, where it was ordered more exactly, that “ No Man should from thence forth “ keep or frequent *Markets* on the *Lords-day*, no “ not for things to be presently eaten, nor to do “ any work belonging to *Husbandry*.

(*p*) *Herardus* Archbishop of *Tours* took these *Precedents*, and as far as his *Jurisdiction* went, forbid all servile *Works*, obscene *Language*, and *Marketings* on the *Lord’s-Day*, which he required to be religiously kept from *Evening* to *Evening*. And this was about the Year 858.

(*n*) Conc. Aquisgran. sub Ludovico pio. 836. Ca. 3. n. 18. 22. apud Sirmond. de Concil. Galli. (*o*) Canon. 30. circa 854. (*p*) De die Dom. à vespere ad vesperam celebretur. Capitula Herard. Archiepiscopi Turon. Temp. Nicolai Papæ & Carol. Calvi circa 858. c. 2. apud Sirmond. Tom. 3.

(q) In the same Year, the *Bulgarians* sent some Questions to Pope *Nicholas*, to which they desired Answers. And that which concern'd the *Lord's-Day*, was, *That they should desist from all secular Work, and Carnal pleasures, or whatever contributed to defile the Body, and do nothing but what agreed with the day.* The Lord's Work on the Lord's-day.

This care used in the *West*, to keep up the Dignity of our Weekly Festival, invited the Emperor *Leo*, surnamed the *Philosopher*, to send out the Edict in the *East* I before mentioned. Wherein taking notice of *Constantine's* Indulgence to *Husbandmen*, he censures it, and saith, "It is our Will and Pleasure, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles by him directed, that on the Sacred day whereon we were restored to our Integrity, all Men should cease from Labour, neither the *Husbandmen*, nor others putting their hand to prohibited Work. For if the *Jews* did so much reverence to the *Shadow*, ought not we to honour the *Substance*, I mean the *Day*, which the Lord honoured, by rescuing us from the Captivity of Death? Are not we bound to keep it inviolably, and be contented with the liberal Grant we have of all the rest, without encroaching on this one, which God hath named for his Service?—&c. This was towards the Conclusion of the Ninth Century. (r) About which time *Riculfus* Bishop of the *Suessones* formed an Ecclesiastical Constitution, wherein complaining that some ill People made no Conscience of going to Market and doing such other things on the *Lord's-day*, which all

(q) Nicolai I. responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum, 858. (r) Constitutio Riculfi Ep. Sueffonum anno 889.

Laws, divine and humane, forbid 'em to do, he decrees that "All imaginable care was to be "taken to redress, and put a stop to those un- "godly Courses, as being a great folly and shame, "that any Christian should so overlook *the day*, "which is the Memorial of Christ's Resurrection "and our Redemption by him, and so eagerly pursue his secular gain at a time, when he ought to "be employed in holy Offices for God's Honour, "and the Good of his own Soul, and theirs belonging to him.

(s) Six years forward was the Council of *Fri- burgh* in *Germany*, under Pope *Formosus*; and there according to the decrees of the Father's a Canon was made, "To forbid even those of highest "Quality to go themselves, or to compell others "to attend at the Courts of Justice on the Lord's- "day, which they were to spend in Prayers, and "Devote wholly to the Service of God, who otherwise might be provoked to Anger.

(t) To the same purpose was there another Canon at *Erfort*, "To prohibit all Law-suits and "Pleadings on the Lord's-day, and other Festi- "vals according to the Ancient Constitutions.

(u) And in the middle of the next Century, a Council was held at *Coy* in *Spain*, under *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*, in the days of Pope *Leo IX.* where it was concluded, that "All Christians should be "admonished every *Saturday-Evening*, to go to "Church, by way of preparation to the *Lord's-* "day following, which was to be intirely conse- "crated to the hearing of Mass. And no Person "was to presume to Travel thereon, unless for "Devotion sake, or to bury the dead, or to visit the

(s) Conc. Tribur. ca. 35. apud Binium, 895. (r) Ca. 2. apud Bin. 932. (u) Sub Ferdin. M. 1050. apud Binium.

" Sick,

" Sick, or carry expresse for the security of the State, against the attempts of the *Saracens*.

(w) Pope Gregory IX. in the Year 1228, reckoning up the days to be kept holy, concludes that "No process should hold good, nor Sentence be of force if pronounced on those days, though both parties agreed to it.

The Council of *Lyons* sate about the Year 1244. and it restrained the People from their ordinary Work on the *Lord's-day*, and other Festivals, on pain of Ecclesiastical Censures, unless in cases of very great *Necessity*, and wherein *Charity* was concern'd.

(x) Thirty eight years forward was the Council of *Angeirs* in *France*, (called by *Ptolemy Juliomagus*) in *Anjou*, which forbid *Millers* by *Water*, or otherwise to grind their Corn from Saturday Evening, till Sunday Evening, and it was further order'd, that at such times the *Barber* also should desist from his Trade.

In the Year 1322. a Synod was called at *Valladolid* in *Castile*, and then was ratified what was formerly required, that "None should follow Husbandry, or exercise himself in any Mechanical employment on the *Lord's-day*, or other holy-days, but where it was a Work of Necessity or Charity, of which the Minister of the Parish was to be judge.

(y) At a Synod at *Sens* in *France*, 1524. the Bishops complaining that the Devotion of Christians waxed cold, and that idle and vain People on these days gave themselves up to surfeiting and drunkenness, plays and wantonness, rather than to Prayer and the like Divine exercises, they

(w) Decret. l. 2. de feriis, c. 5. (x) 1282. (y) Apud Boetelium.

thereupon order, that “ The Rectors of Churches
 “ shall Admonish their Parishioners, to frequent
 “ holy Places on such days, and there to Wor-
 “ ship of God with a Pious Mind, and ardent af-
 “ fection, and attentively hear the Word of God,
 “ and what is Preached from it.

(2) But Monitions of this kind being found too weak to restrain the People from prophaning *these days*, by pleasures or common business; it was further decreed in a Synod two Years after, that
 “ On Holidays all matters of Judicature, Sales,
 “ Merchandize, Luxury, Drunkenness, Plays and
 “ Fairs should cease. Those who offend, let ‘em
 “ be cited before us or our Official.

(a) And because on the Anniversaries of the Saints, many sports and diversions were in use, which were too *light* and *vain* for the *Lord’s-day*, and great impediments to the service of it, when they happen’d to fall out on that day, therefore a few Years after, in a Canon made at the Council of *Mentz*, there was a proviso made, That those Festivals of the Saints which fell on the *Lord’s-day*, should be removed, that so all due respect might be preserved to the Lord of all Saints——And that the Glory of God might not suffer, and the Devotion of the Faithful be hindred, “ We decree
 “ that on the Lord’s-days, and the more Eminent
 “ Festivals, Merchandize, Dances, Morrisces,
 “ which the Council of *Toledo* condemned, are not
 “ to be tolerated.

(b) The same thing was decreed in a Council at *Paris*, about eight Years after, that “ Christians
 “ devote themselves to Prayer, not to plays and
 “ idleness—Therefore let Ministers teach their

(2) Synod. Carnotens. 1526. apud Bochel. (a) Synod. Mogunt. 1549. apud Surium. (b) 1557 apud Bochel.

“ People to go to Church on the Feast-days, to
 “ hear their duty and worship God ——— And
 “ let Plays, Dances, Drinking, idle Discourse,
 “ or whatever else may offend God, be laid aside—

(c) A Council was held at *Cologn*, almost 20
 Years before this of *Paris*, and there an *Injunction*
 was formed — Requiring Ministers “ To ad-
 “ monish and inform their People, why Holy-
 “ days, (*the Lord's-day especially*, which hath been
 “ very Famous in the Church from the Apostles
 “ times) were instituted, to wit, that all might
 “ assemble the better on those days to hear God's
 “ Word, and receive the Holy Communion;
 “ that they might apply their Minds to God a-
 “ lone, and spend this Day in Prayers, Hymns,
 “ Psalms, and Spiritual Songs. For this is to
 “ sanctify the Sabbath. Wherefore we desire
 “ that all Plays should be prohibited on these
 “ Days, Victualling-Houses shut, Riotting, Drink-
 “ ing, Indecent Recreations, Dancing, Impious
 “ Communication, and in a word, all Luxury
 “ be avoided. For by these things, and (which
 “ for the most part follows) by Blasphemies and
 “ Perjuries, the name of God is prophaned, and the
 “ Sabbath (which teaches us to cease to do ill, and
 “ learn to do well) is grossly polluted.

(d) At *Milain*, in a Council met about the
 Year 1565. the Bishops mutually ingage them-
 selves to use their utmost endeavours, that *these*
Sacred days, set apart to celebrate the Praises of
 God; be not abused by doing things which dis-
 please him and injure the Soul. And accordingly
 they came to these Resolutions. That “ No Me-
 “ chanick or servile Work be done on these Days;
 “ no buying or selling, unless Provision and what

(c) 1536, (d) Conc. Provinc. Mediolan. I. apud Binium.

“ was necessary for Sick People ; no Shops open’d ;
 “ no Fairs or Markets.---Wherein if any body
 “ offended, he was to be punished at the discre-
 “ tion of the Bishop, if a Son or Servant, then
 “ the Father or Master was to suffer for ’em. That
 “ there be no Cirque-sports, Combates, or other
 “ Pastimes or vain Shows exhibited ; no Morrice-
 “ dancings allowed in Cities, Suburbs, Towns,
 “ Villages or any place whatever. But the People to
 “ be taught to Dedicate all this time to Holy Offices,
 “ hearing Sermons, saying Prayers, and reflecting
 “ on the Divine Blessings.

(e) And in another Council held in the *same Ci-*
ty, about eight Years after, they not only ratify
 what was here decreed, but proceed to some par-
 ticularities before omitted, and wherein they had
 observed diverse persons very faulty—— “ We
 “ expressly forbid, *say they*, on these Days, Fairs,
 “ Markets, and all sorts of Sales, all contracts and
 “ bargains, executions and process, but wherein
 “ the Law it self makes exceptions ; all Collecti-
 “ ons of Money by way of Customs, or Taxes in
 “ in any Town or Village, especially at the hours
 “ of Service and Sermons ; we require that no
 “ Books, Pictures or the like things be expos’d
 “ to sale ; no disguises hired out, no provisions
 “ sold or Shops open’d ; no Barbers, Bakers, Tai-
 “ lors, Shoo-makers or Men of like Occupation
 “ follow their Trades on these days.

(f) In the same Year, as I think, there was one
 Council at *Cracow*, and another at *Petricow*, five
 Years after in *Poland* ; and in both Places it was
 decreed, that “ The Lords and Gentlemen of the
 “ Country, should not on the *Lord’s-day*, permit
 “ Fairs or Markets, in any of the Towns belong-

(e) Conc. Mediol. 3. 1573. (f) 1573. 1578.

“ing to them; nor on that Day, employ their
 “Tenants in carriages or such servile Works—
 “And they further concluded, that “There
 “should be no meetings at the Tavern, no drinking
 “matches, Dice, Cards, Consorts of Musick,
 “Dancing, or any such Pastimes, especially at that
 “instant when they ought to be at Church, to hear
 “Sermons and do God Service.

(g) About which time we find this Constituti-
 on in another Council. “God as we see in Scri-
 “pture has appointed *Holidays* for Monuments,
 “and Remembrances of his benefits, that Men
 “might acknowledge and give him thanks——
 “Because *Festivals* were introduced from the be-
 “ginning of the World for this end, that the
 “Mind and Body, being free from ordinary cares
 “and concerns of this Life, might be more intent
 “in Recognizing their kind Benefactour; but find-
 “ing no Age more negligent in this point, than
 “ours is——We command, that the Door-
 “keepers of the Church, at these *sacred times*,
 “narrowly observe, and note, which of the Pres-
 “byters and Parishioners be absent from the pub-
 “lick Service, and make report thereof, that en-
 “quiry may be made, what the cause of their ab-
 “sence was, and whether they were not at Ale-
 “houses, Taverns or Plays.

(b) The Council of *Bourges*, much Laments the
 abuses of the *Lord's-day* in these words. “Al-
 “though *the Lord's-day and other Festivals* were in-
 “stituted for this purpose, that faithful Christi-
 “ans abstaining from *External Work*, might more
 “freely, and with greater Piety devote them-
 “selves to *God's-Worship*——Notwithstanding
 “a contrary Custom prevails among us, and

“ *these Days* are spent in unlawful, and *secular Affairs*, and which is yet worse, in *rioting, drinking, playing*, and other *execrable Wickednesses*.— Thereupon they enjoined all Magistrates and Officials, to put a stop to these Courses, by not only prohibiting, but censuring those who should be found refractory.

(i) And so did the Council of *Rheims*, which sate the next Year after, command the People on the one side to resort, on *these Days*, to holy Places for the Performance of their Duties to God, and those in Authority on the other to see that they did it. “ Let the People assemble at their “ *Parish-Churches*, on the *Lord’s-day*, and other *holidays*, and be present at Mass, Sermons and “ *Vespers*. Let no Man on *these Days* give himself to Plays or Dances, especially during Service. And the Magistrate shall be admonished “ by the Minister of the place, to see that nothing “ of this be done. We utterly prohibit Stage- “ *plays*, and other silly Pastimes under the pretence of Custom, by which means the honour “ and sanctity of the Church, doth not a little “ suffer in the Festivals of Christ and the Saints. “ Those who act contrary to what we here direct, it is our Pleasure, that they be punished “ by their Superiours.——

(k) In the same Year another Synod at *Tours*, order’d the *Lord’s-day*, and other holidays to be reverently observed, under pain of Excommunication.—“ Since, *say they*, according to the pre- “ cept of *St. Paul*, those who are *Christ’s*, ought “ alway to follow sobriety, especially on the *Lord’s-day*—This Synod prohibits under the pain of “ Excommunication, all Riotting, Publick-feasts,

(i) 1583. Apud Bochel. (k) Synod. Turon. 1583. apud Bochel.
“ Dancing,

“Dancing, Morrices, Hunting and Hawking,
 “Sales of Wine, or Victuals in Inns, or Cooks-
 “shops, excepting to Strangers and Travellers,
 “all Prizes or other Plays (*especially at the stated*
 “*hours of Prayers, and other Divine Services*) all
 “Stage-Plays, Comedies, and other irreligious
 “Spectacles of this kind. *And* we enjoin all, and
 “singular Rectors of Parishes, to cite those be-
 “fore the Bishop who obey not this Decree, that
 “in his name they may be denounced and pro-
 “claimed Excommunicate. For it is very absurd
 “that Christians *on these Days* intended to appease
 “the Anger of God, being allured by the tempta-
 “tions of Satan, should be drawn away from Di-
 “vine Offices, religious Addresses, and holy Ser-
 “mons.

(1) And in a Synod held the next Year else-
 “where, “The People are prohibited prophane
 “Assemblies, Riotous-feasts, Dances, Plays and
 “Disguises on the *Lord's-day*; as also all Shows,
 “Musick-meetings, and the Noise of Tabrets, and
 “other Instruments in the Procession of Images
 “through the Streets; all going to Publick-houses,
 “and the doing of any thing that doth not favour
 “of Piety—— *And again,* “Let all Christians re-
 “member that the *Seventh-day* was Consecrated
 “by God, and hath been received and observed,
 “not only by the *Jews*, but by all *others*, who pre-
 “tend to Worship God, though we Christians
 “have changed *their Sabbath* into the *Lord's-day*. A
 “Day therefore to be kept, by forbearing all
 “Worldly business, Suits, Contracts, Carriages,
 “&c. and by sanctifying the rest of Mind and
 “Body, in the contemplation of God and things
 “Divine, we are to do nothing but Works of

(1) Synod Bituri. 1534. apud Bochel.

“Charity,

“Charity, say Prayers, and Sing Psalms—— *And as it is worded in another Council.* “Lay aside all secular matters; frequent the Church, and there learn what is to be done, and how we are to behave ourselves all the Week after. (m) Or in the Language of *Gregory the Great*, long before, “Expiate on the Day of our Lord’s-Resurrection, “what was remissly done for the Six Days before.

The like care was taken in the Synod of *Dort*, anno 1618. where it was concluded to entreat the Civil Magistrates, That by their Edicts and Proclamations, they would restrain all servile Works, the Works of Ordinary days, and especially Games, Drinking and other Prophanations of the *Sabbath*, wherein the *Afternoons on Sunday*, chiefly in smaller Towns and Villages, had before been spent, that so the People might repair to Catechizing. —

There have been other Councils and Laws to the same effect, which do not at present occur—— But by *these* already named, we may easily perceive how all the Nations and Religions in Christendom have conspired in the *Observation of this Day*; and what care they have used by the *Edicts* of their Princes, and the *Decrees* of their Bishops to have it reverently kept by the People under ’em, all of ’em concluding, that as *a certain Day*, and *one in Seven*, is to be set apart for the Worship of God, so being Sequestred and Consecrated to that Business, it ought to be reverently and conscientiously observed, and no Work to interfere, but what may well Answer the Name, Dignity and Design of it. I have hitherto omitted our own Country, but by what follows, you will find that

(m) Greg. Ep.

our Governours Church and State, have not been backward and cold in this Affair, but have from time to time, look'd on the *Lord's-day* with the same Eye, and treated it with the same respect, as those before.

(n) *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, by the advice of *Cenred* his Father, and *Heddes*, and *Erkenwald* his Bishops, with all his *Aldermen* and *Sages*, in a great assembly of the *Servants of God*, for the *Health of their Souls*, and common preservation of the *Kingdom* made several Constitutions, of which this was the third, "If a *Servant* do any *Work* on *Sunday* by his *Master's Order*, he shall be free, and the *Master* pay thirty *Shillings*; but if he went to *Work* on his own head, he shall be either beaten with *Stripes*, or ransom himself with a price. A *freeman* if he *Works on this Day*, shall lose his freedom, or pay sixty *Shillings*; if he be a *Priest*, double.

(o) Five Years after a Synod was held at *Berg-hamsted*, under *Bertualdus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and there they resolved on these Canons — "If any *Person* whatever doth any manner of common *Work* on *Saturday*, or *Sunday-Evening* after *Sun-set*, if a *Servant* and by order of his *Master*, the *Master* shall be fin'd eighty *Shillings*. "If a *Servant* travels on these days, he shall pay six *Shillings* to his *Master*, or be beaten. If a *Free-man* be faulty, he shall be put in the *Pillory* or fined, and half of the fine be given to the *Informer*.

In the Year of our Lord 747. a Council was called under *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, and this Constitution made. "It is ordered, that the *Lord's-day* be celebrated with due veneration,

(n) *Leges Inæ* c. 3. anno Christi 692 (o) Anno 5 Withredi regis Cantij, 697. Can. 10 11, 12.

" and

“and wholly devoted to the Worship of God.
 “And that all Abbots and Priests, on this *most*
 “*holy Day*, remain in their respective Monasteries
 “and Churches, and there do their Duty accord-
 “ing to their Places ; and omitting all secular
 “Works and Journeys, (unless on very urgent
 “occasions, and such as will not admit delay)
 “teach their People the rule of Religious Conver-
 “sation, and good living, by Preaching the holy
 “Scriptures to them. And it is further required,
 “that on *this day and other great Festivals* ; the Peo-
 “ple always get together, to hear from their Mi-
 “nisters the word of God, and be more frequently
 “at the Sacraments than in times past.

(p) *Egbert* Archbishop of *York*, to show posi-
 tively what was to be done on *Sundays*, and what
 the Laws design'd by prohibiting ordinary Work
 to be done on such Days, made this Canon, “Let
 “nothing else, *saith he*, be done on the *Lord's-*
 “*day*, but to attend on God in Hymns and Psalms,
 “and Spiritual Songs. Whoever Marries on *Sun-*
 “*day* let him do penance for seven-days. On all
 “*Festivals and Sundays*, let the Minister Preach to
 “the People the Gospel of Christ.

(q) *Alfred the Great*, was the first who united the
Saxon Heptarchy, and it was not the least part of
 his care to make a Law, that among other Festivals
this Day more especially might be solemnly kept,
 because it was *the Day* whereon our Saviour Christ
 overcame the Devil ; meaning *Sunday*, which is
 the Weekly Memorial of our Lord's Resurrection,
 whereby he overcame *Death*, and him who had the
Power of Death, i. e. *the Devil*. And whereas be-
 fore the *single* punishment for Sacrilege committed

(p) Excerpt. *Egbert*. n. 104. 106. A. n. 784. (q) Leg.
Eccl. Aluredi, c. 5. anno 876.

on any other Day, was, to restore the value of the thing stoln, and withal lose one hand, he added, that if any Person was found guilty of this Crime done on the *Lord's-day*, he should be doubly punished. He further ordained, that whoever presumed on the *Lord's-day* to act in any Business, by way of Merchandize or sale, he should not only forfeit his Goods, but also be fined, if a *Dane* twelve * *Oræ*, if an *Englishman* thirty Shillings. A free-man if he did any Work on Holidays, was to lose his Freedom. If a Servant to be beaten, or to redeem himself with Money. And if a Master, whether English or Dane, compelled his Servant to work on such a Day, he was himself to answer for it, and be punished by mulct, or otherwise as the Law directed. And if possible, no Criminal was to be then executed, but kept in safe Custody till the Festival was over. Which Laws, at the League between *Gunthrum* King of the Danes, and *Edward*, Son and Successour to the said *Alfred*, were again ratified in the Year [905] or soon after, and the penalties inflicted as mention'd before.

(r) King *Athelstan*, followed the examples of his Father and Grandfather, and in the Year 928. made a Law, That there should be no Marketing or civil pleadings on the *Lord's-day*, under the penalty of forfeiting the Commodity, besides a fine of thirty Shillings for each offence. —

And in a Convocation of the Clergy, (s) a Constitution was made, forbidding all sorts of Merchandize, and keeping of Courts upon Sunday, all kinds of ordinary Works, all carriages whether by Cart, Horses or otherwise — And whoever transgressed in any of

* A Danish and Saxon coin, valens 16 Denariorum. 15 *Oræ* libram faciunt, 20 *Oræ*, valent 2 argenti Marcis. Vid. Glossar. Spelman. & du Fresne. (r) Conc. Grateal. ab Athelstano rege Angl. ca. 6. (s) Leges Presbyter. Northumbrenf. ca. 49.

these instances, if a freeman, he was to pay twelve Oræ, if a Servant be severely whipt, unless he were a Traveller necessitated to it, either through hunger or fear. Yet in the Eves of Festivals, it was permitted in cases of great necessity, to travel from York to any place six Miles distant from it, and so to York again —

(t) About the Year 943, *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury* had it Decreed, That above all things, the Lord's-day should be kept with all imaginable caution, according to the Canon and Ancient practice.

(u) Somewhat above 20 Years after this, King *Edgar* not only prohibited buying and selling on Sunday, with all legal process or attendance on Courts, but a scruple arising about the Terms of this Christian Sabbath — (w) he further commanded, that the Festival should be kept from three of the Clock, in the afternoon on Saturday, till day-break on Monday, under pain of what the Laws prescribed, for the punishment of those who mis-behaved themselves on the Lord's-day. Here is no mention made of Recreations; but it is very likely they also were prohibited, if it be true what (x) *Antoninus* in his *Chronicon* reports of *Dunstan*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he forbid King *Edgar* to go a hunting. And if the King had not his liberty, it cannot be expected but it was denied the People.

(y) King *Ethelred the Younger*, Son of *Edgar*, coming to the Crown, about the Year 1009, he called a general Council of all the English Clergy, under *Elfeagus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wolstan*

(t) *Odonis* Constit. (u) Ca. 19. dat. sub *Edgaro*, 967. (w) *Edgari* Eccl. Leg. ca. 15. (x) Anno 980 *Dunstanus* Archiep. Cant. prohibuit regi ne ulterius in die dom. venatum pergeret. *Anton. Chron.* T. 16. c. 6. §. 3. (y) Conc. *Ænhamenſ. pananglic.* c. 15.

Archbishop of York—And there it was required, That all Persons, in a more Zealous manner, should observe the Sunday, and what belonged to it, forbearing in the mean while all Marketting or publick meetings, (unless on the score of Religion) and laying aside both common Works, and common diversions, as hunting &c.

(y) This Constitution was afterwards confirmed, by a Law made by King Canutus, who forbid all publick Fairs, Markets, Assemblies, Hunting, and all secular Actions, on the Lord's-day, unless some urgent necessity should require it-- And according to King Edgar's rule, he began the Festival on Saturday, at three of the Clock, and ended it on Monday Morning. ———

And in a Book of an uncertain date but very Ancient, we find this Decree ——— (z) As to the Lord's-day, for as much as it is the Day, on which God created Light, and whereon he began the rain of Manna in the Wilderness, &c. — Although on it, if necessity calls for it, leave may be granted, to set sail or take a Journey, yet let it be conditionally, that no opportunity be omitted to serve God at the hours of Mass and Prayer. And while the Congregation is got together at the Church for this end, let no cause be pleaded, no disputes be made, but let all People rest to God in the celebration of holy things, in bestowing Charities, and Feasting Spiritually with their Friends, Relations and Strangers, and setting forth the Glory and Praise of God. —

(a) As soon as Edward the Third, was well settled in the Throne, (commonly called from the Holiness of his Life, Saint Edward, and Edward the Confessor, a Prince first indued with a Power

(x) Canuti Leg. Eccl. c. 14. 15. Anno 1032. (z) Capitula incertæ editionis. (a) 1054.

to cure the Disease going by the Name of the *King's Evil*) he made a Collection out of the *Danish, Saxon, and Mercian Laws*, and what he found most useful both for the *Civil and Ecclesiastical Government*, he selected and confirmed; and from hence they have the stile of *King Edward's Laws*, though he did not so much *make* as *collect*, and see them put in execution. — Among these the *Observation of the Lord's-day* was not forgotten, but according to the way of Elder times, he took care to discharge it of all *litigious disputes and secular business*, and to determine the bounds of it, from *three a Clock on Saturday Afternoon, till Munday Morning*. — During which time, no Christian was to be molested going to Church for his Devotion-sake, or returning thence, or travelling to the Dedication of any new Church, or to the Synods, or any publick Chapter. —

(b) This was afterwards ratified in the Reign of *Henry the Second*, who entred on the Government about the Year 1155. and of him it is reported, That he had an Apparition at *Cardiff* (a Town of *Glamorganshire* in *South-Wales*) which from *St. Peter* charged him, that upon *Sundays* throughout his Dominions, there should be no buying or selling, and no servile Work done, except what concerned the Provision of meat and drink, which thing if he observed he should succeed in all his Affairs. But the story saith, the King took little notice of it; and being afterwards very unfortunate in many instances, it was charged on the neglect of the *Sabbath*. —

In the Year, 1201. (in the beginning of *King John's* Reign) *Hubart Walter* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Eustachius*, Abbot de *Flay*, (whom I

took notice of before) returned into "England,
"and Preaching the Word of God from City to
"City, and from Place to Place, he forbid Mar-
"kets to be held on the Lord's-day. Accordingly the
People forbore all sale of Goods, but Meat
and Drink to Passengers; and some were so zealous,
as to disturb the Markets of those who assented
not, and overthrew the Booths and Stalls, where
the Commodities were lodged on those Occasions,
which coming to the Ears of the King and Council,
(without whose License it seems all this was done)
they were cited and fined for their disorderly proceeding.
But to confront their Authority, and keep up the People's
Spirits, the Abbot produced a Divine Warrant, or
Mandate from Heaven, for the strict observation of the
Lord's-day, in the Words following.

(c) *An holy Mandate touching the Lord's-day, which came down from Heaven unto Jerusalem, found on St. Simeon's Altar in Golgotha, where Christ was Crucified for the Sins of all the World, which lying there three Days and three Nights, struck with such terrour all that saw it, that falling on the ground they besought God's Mercy. At last the Patriarch, and Akarias the Archbishop, ventured to take up with their hands the Letter of God, wherein it was thus written—*
I am the Lord who Commanded you to keep the Lord's-day, and you have not kept it, neither repented of your Sins—I caused repentance to be Preached unto you, and you believed not; Then I sent the Pagans among you, who spilt your blood on the Earth, and yet you believed not; and because you did not observe the Lord's-Holy-day, I punished you a while with Famine: But in a short time I gave you fulness of bread, and then you behaved your selves worse than before. I again

charge you, that from the Ninth hour on Saturday, until Sun-rising on the Monday, no *Man* presume to do any work, but what is good, or if he do, let him repent for the same, verily, I say unto you, and Swear by my Seat and Throne, and by the Cherubims which surround it, that if you do not hearken to this my Mandate, I will send no other Letter unto you, but will open the Heavens, and Rain upon you stones, wood and scalding water by Night, so that none shall be able to provide against 'em. — I say, ye shall die the death for the Lord's-day, and other Festivals of my Saints, which you have not kept; and I will send among you beasts with the heads of Lyons, and the hair of Women and the Tails of Camels, which being very hungry shall devour your flesh. And you shall desire to flee to the Sepulchers of the dead, and hide your selves for fear of those Beasts. And I will take the light of the Sun from your Eyes, and send such darkness that not being able to see, you shall destroy each other. — And I will turn my face away, and not in the least pity you, I will burn your bodies and Hearts, and of all them who do not keep the Lord's-day. Hear then my words, and do not perish for neglecting this Day. I swear to you by my right hand, that if you do not observe the Lord's-day, and Festivals of my Saints. I will send Pagan Nations to destroy you. — Thus that Paper, whose credit I leave with you; yet it shows how industrious Men were in those times to have this great day solemnly observed. And to that end it was again produced and read in a Council of Scotland, held under Innocent III. (d) about two Years after, viz. 1203. in the Reign of King William, who with the consent of his Parliament, then assembled, past it into a Law, That Saturday from twelve at Noon ought to be accounted Holy, and that no

(d) Hector Boet.

Man should deal in such Worldly business, as on Feast-days were forbidden. As also that at the *Tolling of a Bell*, the People were to be employed in holy Actions, going to Sermons and the like, and to continue thus until *Monday-Morning*, a penalty being laid on those who did the contrary.

About the Year 1214. which was eleven Years after, it was again enacted, in a Parliament at *Scone*, by *Alexander* the Third King of Scots, That none should fish in any Waters, from Saturday after-Evening Prayer, till Sun-rising on Monday, which was afterwards confirmed by King James I.

(e) In the Year 1237. *Henry III.* being King, and *Edmund de Abendon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Constitution was made, requiring every Minister, to forbid his Parishioners the frequenting of Markets on the Lord's-day, and leaving the Church, where they ought to meet and spend the Day in Prayer, and bearing the word of God. And this on pain of Excommunication.

And eighteen Years after, in the same Prince's Reign, *Walter* Bishop of *Durham* had a decree past, wherein he strictly prohibits all Marketings in holy places and on *Lord's-days*——

And the better to understand the Nature of the Festival, (f) a Declaration was made by *Peckam* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a Synod at *Lambeth*, 1281. in these words. "It is to be minded, that the obligation of rest on the *Legal Sabbath* (as was required in the Old Testament) is altogether expired with the other Ceremonies. And it is now sufficient under the *New Testament*, to attend God's Service on the *Lord's-days*, and other holidays appointed by the Church

(e) Sub .Episcopo Anonymo, apud Spelman. (f) Conc. Lambeth. 1281. Edw. 1. Tit. de inform. simpl.

“ to that end. The manner of sanctifying all
 “ which days is not be taken from *Jewish Supersti-*
tion, but from the *Canons of the Church*.

(g) Six Years after this, *Peter Quivil*, in a Synod at *Exeter* by him called, ordered his Clergy to take special care, that throughout his Diocess, the *Day* should be celebrated in such a way as might answer the design of it. “ Both the *Old and New Testament* (saith he) have assign’d a *Seventh day* “ for a *Day of Rest*, whereupon the Jews observed “ *their Sabbath* according to the Letter, but we the “ *Lora’s-day* in the true sence and meaning of it. “ For whereas *they* understood it kept in the forbearance of ordinary Work, *we Christians* on this “ *Day* are to go to Church to hear holy Duties, “ and learn the rule of living well, and the more “ the business of this World diverts People on other Days, and will not suffer ’em to be present at Divine Service, so much the more on “ *these Days*, are they obliged to make their appearance there, that as all the Week they have “ been labouring for the meat that perisheth, so “ they might now on this Day be refreshed, with “ that meat which endureth to Everlasting Life--- “ Wherefore we require all Ministers to teach “ their Parishioners, and perswade ’em to resort “ to the Church at *such times*, to assist at the Divine Offices, and be instructed in their Duty. “ And if any through the prevalence of an ill Custom do keep away, let such be punished by “ their respective Ordinaries. And that all Colour for absence may be prevented, we prohibit Markets on the Lord’s-day within our Diocess on pain of Excommunication, or the selling “ of any goods whatever, except necessary Provi-

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“sion, and that not during the hours of Ser-
 “vice. They who offend in the premisses, let
 “’em be severely punished.—

But in the Century following, under King *Ed-
 ward III.* 1358. *Iſſippe* Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 with very great concern and zeal, expresseſſes him-
 ſelf thus. (b) “We have it from the relation of
 “very credible Perſons, that in diſverſe Places
 “within our Province, a very naughty, nay dam-
 “nable Cuſtom has prevailed, to hold Fairs and
 “Markets on the Lord’s-Day, wherein, not only
 “Proviſion is bought and ſold, but many other
 “matters tranſacted, which can hardly be done
 “without cheating one another. And which is
 “worſe, Rioting and Drunkenneſs, with other
 “ſhameful Practices follow’d, to the great diſho-
 “nour of God and ſcandal to Religion. By which
 “means Men are apt to proceed to Quarrels and
 “revilings, threats and blows, and ſometimes to
 “murder, and bloodſhedding, the Devil every
 “moment gaining upon ’em, while they run in
 “Troops to the aforeſaid Places: — Wherefore
 “by virtue of Canonical Obedience, we ſtrictly
 “charge and command your Brotherhood, that if
 “you find your People faulty in the Premiſſes, you
 “forthwith admoniſh or cauſe ’em to be admo-
 “niſhed, to refrain going to Markets or Fairs on
 “the Lord’s-day. And all thoſe who are arrived
 “at Years of diſcretion, let them conſtantly at
 “ſuch times reſort to their Pariſh-Churches to do,
 “hear and receive what the *Day* requires, as
 “Prayers, Sermons, Sacraments and the like. And
 “as for ſuch who are obſtinate and ſpeak, or act a-
 “gainſt you in this particular, you muſt endea-

(b) Conſtit. Archiep. Cant. Iſſippe. Tit. *De exorando pro*
Rege, & de obſerv. Dies Dom. 1358.

“vour to restrain ’em by Ecclesiastical Censures,
 “and by all Lawful means put a stop to these ex-
 “travagances.

Nor was the Civil Power silent, (i) for much about that time King *Edward* made an Act that *Wool should not be shown at the staple on Sundays, and other solemn Feasts in the Year.*

In the Reign of King *Henry VI.* Dr. *Stafford*, being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 1444. it was decreed, that *Fairs and Markets should no more be kept in Churches, and Church-Yards on the Lord’s-day, or other Festivals, except in time of Harvest.*

(†) And *Catworth*, then Lord-Mayor of the City of *London*, with the assistance of the Common-Council, issued out an Order, that “No
 “manner of Commodities be within the Freedom,
 “bought or sold on *Sundays*, neither Provision
 “nor any other thing. And that no Artificer
 “should bring his ware unto any Man, to be worn
 “or occupied *that day*, as Tayler’s-Garments,
 “Cordwainer’s-Shoes, and so likewise all other
 “Occupations.

(k) And seven Years after, 1451. it pleased King *Henry* to ratify what was before Ordered by Archbishop *Stafford*, and a Law was made, as follows, Considering the abominable Injuries and
 “Offences done to Almighty God—by the occa-
 “sion of Fairs and Markets, upon the high and
 “Principal Feasts——*On Trinity Sunday, and other*
 “*Sundays*——accustomably, and miserably hol-
 “den, and used in the Realm of *England*——
 “Our Sovereign Lord the King hath ordained,
 “that all manner of *Fairs, and Markets* on the
 “said Principal Feasts, *and Sundays*——shall
 “clearly cease from all shewing any Goods and

(i) 28. Edw. III. (†) Fabian. Chron. (k) 28. K. Hen. VI.
 Merchandizes,

“ Merchandizes, necessary Victual only excepted,
 “ upon pain of forfeiture of all the Goods afore-
 “ said, to the Lord of the Franchise or Liberty,
 “ where such Goods be or shall be showed contrary
 “ to this Ordinance.

And in the Fourth Year of his Successour *Edw.*
IV. 1465. it was again enacted, “ Our Sovereign
 “ Lord the King, hath Ordained and Established,
 “ that no Cordwainer or Cobler, within the Ci-
 “ ty of *London*, or within three Miles of any part
 “ of the said City——do upon any *Sunday in*
 “ *the Year*, or on the Feasts——sell or Com-
 “ mand to be sold any Shooes, Huseans or Galoches,
 “ or upon *the Sunday or any other of the said Feasts*,
 “ shall set or put upon the Feet or Legs of any Per-
 “ son any Shooes, Huseans or Galoches, upon pain
 “ of forfeiture, and loss of twenty shillings, as of-
 “ ten as any Person shall do contrary to this Ordi-
 “ nance.

And in the seventeenth Year of his Reign, there
 was another Act of Parliament complaining, that
 many spent their *Holidays* in Dice, Quoits, Tennis,
 Bowling, and the like, which if any Person was
 found chargeable with for the future, and proved
 upon him, this Law punished him on a double ac-
 count, First, For his contempt of the *Day*, and
 Secondly, For using such *Diversions* on it, as were
 unlawful Games, and forbidden by the Laws of
 the Realm.

(1) In this King's Reign, *George Nevil* Archbishop
 of *York*, in a Provincial Synod, renewed the Con-
 stitution of Archbishop *Peckam*, and by way of
 expounding the fourth Commandment, declared
 the general Obligation of keeping the *Seventh-day*,
 and the *manner* of keeping it, to avoid the notion
 and superstition of the *Jews*.

(1) Ann. 1466.

To which end the Bishops, under King *Henry VIII.* in the Year 1540. set out a Book concerning the *Sabbath*, wherein they call the *Sabbath ceremonial*. Yet they require rest from Sin, from carnal Pleasures, and Command attendance on holy duties.

So did Dr. *Hooper*, in his Treatise on the Ten Commandments, printed in the Year 1550. For to this end God did sanctify the *Sabbath-day*, not that we should give ourselves to idleness or heatbenish pastimes, but being free that Day from the travels of this World, we might consider the works and benefits of God with Thanksgiving; hear the word of God, honour and fear him, then to learn who, and where be the Poor of Christ that want our help.—But to insist on private Doctors would be an endless labour. To proceed therefore to our Laws and Constitutions.

Under King *Edward VI.* To the honour of Almighty-God---It was thus enacted----(m) Forasmuch as Men be not at all times so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort to hear God's holy word, and to come to the holy Communion, as their bounden duty doth require, therefore to call Men to the Remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholsomly provided, that there should be some certain times, and Days appointed, wherein Christians should cease from all kind of Labour, and apply themselves only, and wholly to the aforesaid holy works, properly pertaining to true Religion. Be it therefore enacted, that all the Days hereafter mentioned shall be kept, and are Commanded to be kept Holidays, and none other, i. e. all Sundays in the Year. On which all People for the aforesaid ends in the preamble, (namely to do their duties to God) are to abstain from Bodily labour.——

(m) § Edw. VI.

Thus that Prince in his Civil Capacity ; and as the supreme Governour of this Church, he sent out an *injunction* in these Words (n) *Like as the People be commonly occupied the Work-day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the Holiday at the first beginning Godly instituted, and ordained that the People should that Day give themselves wholly to God. And whereas in our time God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured than honoured upon the Holiday, because of Idleness, Pride, Drunkenness, Quarrelling and Brawling, which are most used in such days, People nevertheless perswading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that Day, if they hear Mass and Service, though they understand nothing to their edifying. Therefore all the King's faithful and loving Subjects, shall from henceforth celebrate and keep their Holiday, according to God's holy Will and Pleasure — i. e. — in hearing the word of God read and taught, in private and publick Prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their Neighbours where displeasure hath been, in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body, and blood of Christ, in visiting the Poor and Sick, in using all soberness and godly Conversation.*

The very same *Injunction* was given by Queen Elizabeth, and published 1559 concerning both the Clergy and Laity of this Realm. N. 20. *All the Queen's faithful and loving Subjects, shall from henceforth celebrate and keep their Holiday, &c. — verbatim as before.*

And in a Statute made by the same Princess, the Year before, called the *Act of Uniformity*, it is Commanded, that (o) *From and after the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist next coming, all*

(n) 1547. (o) 1 Elizab.

and every Person, and Persons inhabiting within this Realm, or any other of the *Queen's Majesty's Dominions*, shall diligently and faithfully (having no Lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavour themselves to resort to their Parish-Church, or Chappel accustomed, or upon reasonable Let thereof, to some usual place, where Common-prayer and such Service of God shall be used in such time of Let, upon every Sunday and other Days ordained, and used to be kept as holidays, and then, and there to abide orderly and soberly, during the time of the Common-prayer, preaching or other service of God, there to be used and ministred, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church. As also upon pain, that every Person offending shall forfeit for such offence twelve pence, to be levied by the Church-Wardens of the Parish, where such offence shall be done, to the use of the Poor of the said Parish, of the Goods, Lands, and Tenements, of such offender by way of distress.——

(p) And it was one of the *Articles of Visitation*, in the same Year, Whether any Inn-holders or Alehouse Keepers, do use commonly to sell Meat and Drink in the time of Common-Prayer, Preaching, Reading of the Homilies or Scripture.

Three Years after, the *Book of Homilies* was Authorized by the said excellent Queen; and in (q) one of them our Church delivers herself after this manner. Although we ought at all times —— to have in Remembrance, and to be thankful to our Gracious Lord —— yet it appeareth to be God's Will and Pleasure, that we should at special times —— gather ourselves together, to the intent his name might be renowned, and his glory set forth in the Congregation and Assembly of his Saints. As concerning the time, which Almighty-God hath appointed his People to assemble together

(p) Ann. 1539. (q) Of the Place and Time of Prayer.

solemnly,

solemnly, it doth appear from the fourth Commandment of God [Remember, &c.] that we ought to have a time, as one Day in the Week, wherein we ought to rest, yea, from our Lawful and needful Works. And as by this Commandment no Man in the six days ought to be slothful or idle, but diligently to labour in that State, wherein God hath set him: Even so God hath given expresse charge to all Men, that on the Sabbath-day, which is now our Sunday, they should cease from all weekly and work day labour, to the intent, that like as God himself wrought six Days, and Rested the seventh, and blessed and sanctified, and consecrated it to quietness and rest from Labour: Even so God's Obedient People should use the Sunday holily, and Rest from their common and daily business, and also give themselves wholly to Heavenly exercises of God's true Religion and service. So that God doth not only Command the observation of this holiday, but also by his own Example doth stir, and provoke us to the diligent keeping of the same. This Example and Commandment of God, the godly Christian People began to follow immediately after the Ascension of our Lord Christ, and began to choose them a standing-day of the Week to come together in; yet not the Seventh-day which the Jews kept, but the Lord's-day, the Day of the Lord's-Resurrection, the day after the Seventh Day, which is the first Day of the Week. Since which time God's People have always in all Ages without any Gain-saying, used to come together upon the Sunday to honour, and celebrate the Lord's blessed Name, and carefully to keep that Day in holy Rest, and quietness, both Man, Woman, Child, Servant and Stranger. For the transgression and breach of which Day, God hath declared himself much to be grieved, as it may appear by him, who for gathering of sticks on the Sabbath-Day was stoned to Death. But alas! All these notwithstanding, it is lamentable to see the wicked boldness of those, who will be counted God's People, who pass nothing at
all

all of keeping and hallowing the Sunday. And these People are of Two sorts; the One sort, if they have any business to do, though there be no extreme need, they must not spare for the Sunday; They must drive and carry upon the Sunday; They must Row and Ferry on the Sunday; They must ride and journey on the Sunday; They must buy and sell on the Sunday; They must keep Markets and Fairs on the Sunday; finally, They use all days alike, Work-days and Holy-days, all are One. The other sort is worse, for although they will not travel nor labour on the Sunday, as they do on the Week-day, yet they will not rest in holiness, as God Commandeth, but they rest in ungodliness and filthiness——in excess and superfluity, in gluttony and drunkenness, like rats and swine; They rest in brawling and railing, in quarrelling and fighting, they rest in wantonness and toyish talking, in filthy fleshliness, so that it doth too evidently appear, that God is more dishonoured, and the Devil better served on the Sunday, than upon all the Days of the Week besides. Wherefore O ye People of God, lay your hands upon your hearts; repent and amend this grievous and dangerous Wickedness; stand in awe of the Commandment of God; gladly follow the Example of God himself; be not disobedient to the godly order of Christ's Church, used and kept from the Apostle's time to this day. Fear the displeasure and just Plagues of Almighty God, if ye be negligent and forbear not labouring, and travelling on the Sabbath or Sunday, and do not resort together to celebrate and magnify God's Blessed Name in quiet, holiness and godly reverence.

(r) In the Year 1580. The Magistrates of the City of London, obtain'd of Queen Elizabeth, that Plays and Interludes should no more be Acted

on the *Sabbath-day*. And to make sure Work, at the motion of many Godly Citizens, and well disposed Gentlemen, they also made suite to the said Queen, and her Privy-Council, that they might have leave to expel the Players out of the City, and so pull down all the Play-houses, and Dice-houses within their Liberties. Which was accordingly effected, and the Play-houses in *Grace-Church-Street*, *Bishopsgate-Street*, and the others near *St. Pauls*, on *Ludgate-Hill*, and in the *White-Fryers*, were pulled down and repressed by the care of those Religious Men.

King James upon his Accession to this Crown, issues out a Proclamation, dated at *Theobalds*, May 7. 1603. "Whereas, saith he, we have been informed, that there has been in former times a great neglect in keeping the *Sabbath-day*. For better observing the same, and for avoiding all impious Prophanation of it, we straitly charge and command, that no Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, Common-plays, or the like disorderly or unlawful Exercises, or Pastimes, be frequented, kept or used any time hereafter upon any *Sabbath-day*.

(s) And in the same Year, by a Synod begun in *London*, a Canon was made, requiring "All manner of Persons within the Church of *England*, from henceforth to celebrate and keep the Lord's-day, commonly called Sunday, and other Holidays according to God's Will and Pleasure, and the Orders of the Church of *England*, prescribed in that behalf, *i. e.* in hearing the Word of God read and taught; in private and publick Prayers, in acknowledging their Offences to God, and amendment of the same; in

(s) Can. 13. Jacobi.

"reconciling

“reconciling themselves Charitably to their
 “Neighbours where displeasure hath been; in of-
 “ten receiving the Communion of the Body and
 “Blood of Christ; in visiting the Poor and Sick,
 “using all godly and sober Conversation.

(t) Twelve Years after this, in *Ireland*, when his Majesty's Commissioners were employ'd about the settling of the Church, there past this Article.

(u) “The first Day of the Week which is the
 “Lord's-day, is wholly to be Dedicated to the
 “Service of God; and therefore we are bounden
 “therein, to rest from our common and daily bu-
 “siness, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exer-
 “cises, both private and publick.——

(w) King *Charles I.* as soon as he came to the Crown, past a Law, intituled *an Act for punishing diverse abuses committed on the Lord's-day called Sunday.* “Forasmuch as there is nothing more ac-
 “ceptable to God, than the true and sincere Wor-
 “ship of him according to his holy Will; and
 “that the holy keeping of the Lord's-day, is a
 “principal part of the true service of God, which
 “in many Places of this Realm hath been, and
 “now is prophaned and neglected by a disorderly
 “sort of People, in exercising and frequenting
 “Bear-baiting--and the like Exercises, and Pastimes
 “upon the Lord's-day: And for that many
 “quarrels, bloodsheds, and other great inconve-
 “niences, have grown by the resort and concourse
 “of People, going out of their own Parishes to
 “such disorder'd, and unlawful Exercises and
 “Pastimes, neglecting Divine service, both in
 “their own Parishes and elsewhere.——Be it En-
 “acted,——That from and after forty Days
 “next after the end of this Session of Parlia-

(t) Ann. 1615. (u) Art. 56. (w) 1 Caroli, 1625.

“ment,

“ment, there shall be no Meetings, Assemblies, or
 “Concourse of People out of their own Parishes
 “on the Lord’s-day, within this Realm of *Eng-*
 “*land*, or any the Dominions thereof, for any
 “Sports or Pastimes whatever. And that every
 “Person or Persons offending in any of the Pre-
 “misses, shall forfeit for every Offence three Shil-
 “lings and four Pence, the same to be employed
 “and converted to the use of the Poor of the Pa-
 “rish, where such Offences shall be committed---
 “to be levied by way of distress, and sale of
 “the Goods, of every such offender. And in
 “default of such distress, that the party offending
 “be set publicly in the Stocks by the space of
 “three Hours-----Which Statute being to be
 continued unto the end of the first Session of the
 next Parliament only, was recontinued by the
 Statute of third *Caroli*, and so remaineth in
 force.

And in this Third Year of the said King, ano-
 ther Act was made against Carriers, Butchers, &c.
 “Forasmuch as the Lord’s-day commonly called
 “Sunday, is much broken and prophaned by Car-
 “riers, Waggoners, Carters, Wain-Men, But-
 “chers and Drovers of Cattel, to the great dis-
 “honour of God and reproach of Religion.-----
 “Be it Enacted-----that no Carrier, &c. shall
 “travel on the Lord’s-day, upon the forfeiture
 “of twenty Shillings for every such Offence-----
 Which was confirm’d and made perpetual 17
Caroli.

’Tis true, after the Example of King *James*,
 his Father, *Anno* 1618. and by the advice of some
 about him, he was prevail’d on to set out a *Decla-*
ration, wherein he allows his *dutiful Subjects* Inno-
 cent Diversions, or *Lawful Recreations* on the Lord’s-
 day, so that the same be had in due and convenient
 times, without impediment or let of divine Service, and
 that

that the People had first done their Duty to God — But as the former *Declaration* was not well taken, which probably occasioned this Prince to make the afore-said Law, for the stricter keeping of the Day, so to be sure this could not be relished notwithstanding its Cautions; and upon the fatal breach between him and many of his Subjects, by the Concurrence and consent of the Parliaments in both Kingdoms, it was one Article in the *Propositions* of 1644. that an *Act* should be made for the *observation of the Lord's-day* — Meaning a New Act for greater reverence to be shown the Day, and more for the Honour and Service of God.

April 20. 1629. Sir *Richard Dean*, being Lord Mayor of *London*, he issued out the following Order, “Whereas I am credibly informed, that
 “notwithstanding diverse good Laws for keeping
 “of the Sabbath holy, according to the express
 “Commandment of God Almighty, diverse inhabitants and other Persons of this City, and
 “other Places having no respect of duty towards
 “God, and his Majesty or his Laws, but in contempt of them all, do commonly and of Custom
 “greatly Prophane the Sabbath-day in Buying,
 “Selling, Uttering and Vending, their Wares and
 “Commodities on that Day for their private
 “gain. Also Inn-holders suffering Markets to
 “be kept by Carriers, in most rude and Prophane
 “manner, in selling Victuals to Hucksters, Chandelers and all other Comers. Also Carriers,
 “Carr-Men, Cloth-Workers, Water-Bearers,
 “and Porters carrying of burdens, and Water-Men plying their Fares, and diverse others
 “Working in their Ordinary callings. And likewise, that I am informed that Vintners, Ale-House-Keepers, Tobacco, and Strong-Water-Sellers, greatly Prophane the Sabbath-day, by
 “suffering Company to sit drinking and bibbing
 “in

“ in their Houses on that Day ; and likewise diverse
 “ by Cursing and Swearing, and such like behaviour,
 “ contrary to the expresse Commandment of Al-
 “ mighty God, his Majesty’s Laws in that behalf,
 “ and all good Government. For the Reformation
 “ whereof, I do hereby require and in his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Name, straitly Command all his Majesty’s
 “ Loving Subjects whatsoever, and also all Con-
 “ stables, Headboroughs, Beadles, and all other
 “ Officers whatsoever to be aiding, and assisting to
 “ the Bearer hereof, in finding out & apprehending
 “ all, and every such Person and Persons, as shall
 “ be found to offend in any of these Kinds, and
 “ them and every of ’em, to bring before me or
 “ some other of his Majesty’s Justice, of the Peace,
 “ to Answer to all such Matters, as shall be object-
 “ ed against ’em, and to put in good security for
 “ their good behaviour, whereof fail you not,
 “ as you will answer at your Peril.

Ten Years after, *August 29. 1639.* an *Act* was
 past by the *General Assembly*, held at *Edinburgh* in
Scotland, anent the keeping of the *Lord’s-day*.
 “ The General Assembly recommendeth to the se-
 “ veral Presbyteries, the Execution of the old Acts
 “ of Assembly against the breach of the Sabbath-
 “ day, by the going of Mills, Salt-pans, Sal-
 “ mon-fishing, or any such like labour, and to
 “ this end revives, and renews the act of Assem-
 “ bly holden at *Halirood-house*, 1602. Sess. 5.
 “ Whereof the tenour follows—

“ The Assembly considering the Conventions of
 “ People, especially on the Sabbath-day, are very
 “ rare in many Places by distraction of labour, not
 “ only in Harvest and Seed-time, but also every
 “ Sabbath by fishing, both of White-fish and Sal-
 “ mon-fish, and in going of Mills. Therefore
 “ the Assembly dischargeth, and inhibiteth all
 “ such labour of fishing, as well White-fish as

“ Salmon-fish, and going of Mills of all sorts upon
 “ the Sabbath, under pain of incurring the Censures
 “ of the Kirk, and ordains the Commissioners of
 “ this Assembly to mean the same to his Majesty,
 “ and to desire that a pecunial pain might be en-
 “ joined upon the Controversers of this present
 “ Act.

In the Year, 1644. Jan. 3. an Ordinance of Parliament was made, *That the Directory for publick Worship should be used, pursued and observed in all exercises of the publick Worship of God, in every Congregation, Church, Chapel, and Place of publick Worship, within this Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; which directory for the publick Worship of God, with the Preface thereof followeth* —

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's-day—

The Lord's-day ought to be so remembred beforehand, as that all Worldly business of our Ordinary callings may be so Ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due Sanctifying of the Day, when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in publick and private, as being the Christian Sabbath, To which end, it is requisite, that there be an holy Cessation or Resting all the Day, from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all Worldly Words and Thoughts.

That the diet of that day be so ordered, as that neither Servants be unnecessarily detained from the publick Worship of God, nor any other Persons bindred from the Sanctifying that Day.

That there be private Preparation of every Person or Family, by Prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the Minister, and for a blessing on his ministry, and by such other holy exercises, as may further

ther dispose them to a more comfortable Communion with God in his publick Ordinances.

That all the People meet so timely for publick Worship; that the whole Congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the publick Worship; and not depart till after the Blessing.

That what time is vacant, between or after the solemn meeting of the Congregation in publick, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of Sermons (especially by calling their Families to an account of what they have heard) and Catechizing of them, holy conferences, prayer for a Blessing upon the publick Ordinances, Singing of Psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the Poor, and such like Duties of Piety, Charity and Mercy, accounting the Sabbath a Delight.

In the 13 Car. 2. An Act was made for the Establishing Articles, and Orders for the regulating and better Government of his Majesty's Navy, whereof the first was, that "All Commanders, "Captains and Officers at Sea, shall cause the publick Worship of Almighty God, according to "the Liturgy of the Church of England Established by Law, to be solemnly, orderly and reverently performed in their respective Ships; and that "Prayers and Preachings, by the respective Chaplains in holy Orders, in the respective Ships be "performed diligently; and that the Lord's-day "be observed according to Law.

Somewhat like this, the Earl of Essex set out for the better behaviour of his Army, 1642. (x) "All those who often and wilfully absent themselves from Sermons and publick Prayers— "Shall undergo Censure.

(x) Laws and Ordinances of War. Art. 3.

And King *James II.* 1685. took the same care for his Forces. “ All Officers and Soldiers (not
 “ having just impediment) shall diligently fre-
 “ quent Divine Service and Sermon — under pe-
 “ nalty that every Officer not doing so shall be re-
 “ prehended at a Court Martial, and every pri-
 “ vate Soldier *toties quoties*, forfeit twelve Pence :
 Which is to be understood more especially of the
Lord's-day, though not named, because on other
 Days there were no Sermons.

In the 29 *Car. 2.* a Law past for the observation of
 the *Lord s-day* called Sunday — (y) *Be it Enacted* —
 “ That all the Laws enacted, and in force con-
 “ cerning the Observation of the Lord's-day,
 “ and repairing to the Church thereon, be careful-
 “ ly put in Execution, and that all, and every
 “ Person and Persons whatever, shall on every
 “ Lord's-day apply themselves to the Observati-
 “ on of the same, by exercising themselves thereon
 “ in the Duties of Piety and true Religion, pub-
 “ lickly and privately, and that no Tradesman,
 “ Artificer, Work-man, Labourer, or other Person
 “ whatsoever shall do or exercise any Worldly
 “ labour, business or work of their ordinary cal-
 “ lings upon the Lord's-day or any part thereof
 “ (Works of necessity and Charity only excepted)
 “ and that every Person being of the Age of
 “ fourteen Years or upwards offending in the
 “ Premises, shall for every such offence forfeit the
 “ sum of five Shillings, and that no Person or
 “ Persons whatsoever, shall publickly, cry shew
 “ forth or expose to sale any Wares, Merchan-
 “ dizes, Fruit, Herbs, Goods or Chattels whatso-
 “ ever, upon the Lord's-day or any part thereof,
 “ under pain that every Person so offending shall

“forfeit the same Goods, so cried or shew’d forth
“or exposed to sale, excepting Milk, which
“may be cried and sold, before Nine a Clock in
“the Morning, and after four in the Afternoon.
“And it is further enacted, that no Drover,
“Horse-Courser, Waggoner, Butcher, Higler,
“their, or any of their Servants shall travel or
“come into his or their Inn or Lodging, upon
“the Lord’s-day or any part thereof, upon pain
“that each and every such offender, shall for-
“feit twenty Shillings for every such offence. And
“that no Person or Persons shall use, employ or
“travel upon the Lord’s-day with any Boat,
“Wherry, Lighter or Barge, except it be upon
“extraordinary occasions, to be allowed by some
“Justice of the Peace, upon pain that every Per-
“son so offending shall forfeit, and lose the sum
“of five Shillings for every such offence. And be
“it further enacted, that if any Person or Persons
“whatsoever, which shall travel on the Lord’s-day,
“shall be then robbed, no Hundred nor the Inha-
“bitants thereof shall be charged with, or be an-
“swerable for any Robbery so committed, but
“the Person or Persons so robbed, shall be barred
“from bringing any Action for the said Robbery,
“any Law to the contrary notwithstanding. And
“that no Person or Persons on the Lord’s-day,
“shall serve or execute, or cause to be served or
“executed any Writ, Process, Warrant, Order,
“Judgment or Decree (except in cases of Felony,
“Treason, or breach of the Peace) but that the
“Service of every such Writ, Process, &c. shall be
“void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.
“And the Person or Persons, so serving or exe-
“cuting the same, shall be as liable to the suit of
“the party grieved, and to answer damages for
“the doing thereof, as if he or they had done the
“same

“same without any Writ, Process, Warrant, Order, Judgment or Decree at all.”

This Law is so full, that in the succeeding Reigns, there was no Occasion to make a Supplement, but only to see it put in Execution. Accordingly King James, in the Year 1685. after his Brother's example 1662. Writ a Letter to the two Archbishops, Straitly charging and commanding them, to use their utmost care and diligence, that among other things, for the better observing of the Lord's-day, too much neglected of late, the Clergy of their Provinces shall, as by often and serious Admonitions and sharp reproofs, endeavour to draw off People from such idle, debauched and profane Courses as dishonour God, bring a scandal on Religion and contempt on the Laws and Authority, Ecclesiastical and Civil, so shall they very earnestly perswade them to frequent Divine Service on the Lord's-day, and other Festivals appointed by the Church to be kept solemn, and in case any Person shall resort to any Taverns or Ale-Houses, or use any unlawful sports and exercises on such Days, the Minister shall exhort those who are in Authority, in their several Parishes and Congregations, carefully to look after all such Offenders in any kind whatever, together with all those that abett, receive and entertain them, that they may be proceeded against according to the Laws, and quality of their Offences, that all such disorders may for the time to come be prevented.

The two Metropolitans pursued the King's Directions, and transmitted his Commands to the several Bishops within their Provinces, and the Bishops to the Inferiour Ministers, particularly the Lord Bishop of London, called his Clergy together, and had a long Conference with them, on the Subject of the King's Letter, and afterwards writ to them to remind 'em, of what had been said, Dec. 10. 1686. “The last Article, saith he, is that which at all times you ought to be
“concerned

“ concerned for : To see that the solemn Day of
 “ our Religious Worship be observed, as becomes
 “ sincere Professours. But more especially at
 “ this time it lies upon us to apply double dili-
 “ gence. For this indulgence the King has granted
 “ upon the notion of having a dispensing Power in
 “ himself, has been so little considered in reference
 “ to the abuse wicked and prophane Men will
 “ make of it, that it hath laid the Lord’s-day o-
 “ pen to all contempt imaginable. We have al-
 “ ready the sad experience of it. Worldly Peo-
 “ ple stay at home on that Day, and attend their
 “ secular Affairs. The loose and debauched lie at
 “ the Ale-house, and every one that fears not God,
 “ takes an occasion to be an Offence to those that
 “ do. As to what remedies we should use to prevent
 “ these mischiefs, as much as may be, I think,
 “ we fully considered in our last Conference before
 “ this, whither I refer you.

Feb. 13. 1689. The present King sends his
 Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God,
Henry Lord Bishop of London, to be communicated
 to the two Provinces of *Canterbury and York*. Where-
 in the Clergy are directed to Preach frequently against
 those particular Sins and Vices, which are most prevail-
 ing in this Realm; and withal on every of those Lord’s-
 days, on which any such Sermon is Preached, they do
 also read to their People such Statute, Law or Laws,
 as are provided against that Vice or Sin, which is their
 subject on that Day, as namely against Blasphemy,
 Swearing, and Cursing, against Perjury, against
 Drunkenness, and against Prophanation of the Lord’s-
 day, all which Statutes we have ordered to be Printed
 together with these our Letters, that so they may be
 transmitted to every Parish within this our Realm.

Hereupon the aforesaid Prelate, not only takes
 care to disperse the Letter above written, with
 the several Laws there mentioned, and annex to

it, but also writes another to his Own Clergy, bearing Date, April 24. 1690. wherein he presses 'em, To put their People often in mind of the importance of the Word Reformed Churches, which import that as our Doctrine and Worship, are by the blessing of God reformed, so our Lives ought to be reformed, otherwise all the advantage we have of Light and Truth, beyond other Churches will rise up in judgment against us, if we do not live suitably to them. But above all things they were to study to possess those committed to their charge with the deep sense of the Duty, that they owe to God their Maker, and to Jesus Christ their Saviour, that so they may apply themselves to the exercises of Devotion in secret, to the frequenting the Publick Worship, and chiefly to the receiving the Sacrament with that serious disposition of mind, as becomes such holy Performances, that so they may delight in going together to the House of God. And in order to their doing this aright, infuse into 'em a great reverence for the Lord's-day, as a time separated from the common business of Life, for their attending on the Worship of God, and such other Religious exercises, as may both encrease their Knowledge and their Sense of Divine matters; and that therefore they ought not to satisfy themselves with going to Church, and assisting publicly in the Service of God, but that they set themselves more to Prayer on that Day, and to the reading of Scripture and other good Books, both apart and together in their Families, that so they may grow up in Grace, and in the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. These things, saith he, you must open to your People frequently, in Season, and out of Season, both at Church and from house to house. And I charge you by all the Authority I have over you, by the zeal you bear to the Church of England, and as you desire to have from your labours, and your People a Crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord, and as you bear a due regard both to your own Soul, and the Souls committed to your Care, and to that precious Blood

Blood by which they were redeemed; as you desire to be faithful to your Ordination vows, and to have a share in those blessed Words [well done good and faithful Servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord] that you will give your selves wholly to these things, that you will account no labour great in advancing that Work, for which our Saviour spared not his own Life, and that you pursue all the parts of your Ministry, with a zeal suitable to the importance of them, &c. —

July 9. 1691. The Queen writ a Letter to the Justices of the Peace in Middlesex, to this Effect. Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well. “Considering the great, and indispensable Duty incumbent on us — we think it necessary — to recommend to you, the putting in Execution — those Laws which have been made, and are still in force against the prophanation of the Lord’s-day, and all other disorderly Practices, which by a long continued neglect, and connivance of the Magistrates and Officers, concerned, have Universally spread themselves to the dishonour of God and scandal of our holy Religion — we do therefore hereby charge and require you, to take the most effectual Methods, for putting the Laws in Execution against the Crimes, Sins and Vices abovementioned, &c. —

In the Year 1694. a Book of Injunctions was given to the Two Archbishops, and by them to the rest of the Clegy, wherein it is commanded [Art. 12.] that “They use their utmost endeavour, that the Lord’s-day be religiously observed, that they set a good example to their People, and exhort ’em frequently to their Duty herein.

And Feb. 24. 1697. a Proclamation was issued out, at the request of the House of Commons, to require “All, both Magistrates and Ministers, to be very vigilant and strict in the discovery, and effectual Prosecution and Punishment of all Persons,

“Persons, who shall be found guilty of excessive
 “Drinking, Blasphemy, Prophane Swearing and
 “Cursing, Lewdness, Prophanation of the Lord’s
 “day—as they will Answer it to Almighty
 “God, and upon pain of the King’s Highest dis-
 “pleasure.

And in the Year, 1698. Sir *Francis Child* being
 Lord Mayor, an Order was issued out bearing
 date *March 1.* in these words, “Forasmuch as the
 “general corruption and depravation of Manners,
 “within this City, and the Liberties thereof, in-
 “stead of being amended and reformed by the
 “many good Laws provided, and design’d for
 “that purpose, and the several Orders published
 “by the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to
 “inforce the Execution of them, seems rather
 “to prevail, and increase, and daily manifests it
 “self in the grossest and boldest Acts of de-
 “bauchery and licentiousness.

“The Right honourable the Lord Mayor, be-
 “ing deeply sensible of the unhappy prevalency
 “and dangerous consequences of such Practices, and
 “being convinced, that nothing can put a stop to
 “the further growth and increase, of such im-
 “pieties but a resolute, and vigorous Execution
 “of several Laws by a strict, and impartial in-
 “flicting the several penalties and punishments by
 “them appointed on all Offenders.

“His Lordship therefore, out of a due sense of
 “his Duty to God, and regard to the honour and
 “welfare of the Government of this City, com-
 “mitted to his care, being resolved to effect the
 “same, doth (with the advice of his Brethren the
 “Aldermen) hereby renew and command the
 “observance of all former Orders and Precepts;
 “and doth strictly charge, and command all Con-
 “stables, Church-Wardens, Over-Seers of the
 “Poor, in their respective Parishes, and all o-
 “ther

“ther Officers, and Ministers of Justice within
“this City and Liberties, to put the said Laws in
“Execution. [which Laws, Offences and Penal-
“ties, are recited in the Order.]

“And forasmuch as the keeping holy the Lord’s-
“day, commonly called Sunday, is a principal
“part of the true Service of God, and that all
“Persons on that day ought to apply themselves
“to the Duty of Piety and Religion, both pub-
“lick and private; and the keeping open of Ta-
“verns, Coffee Houses and Ale-Houses, on the
“said Day, and the receipt and entertaining of
“the People, as well in time of Divine Service, as
“out, is a great means of Prophaning and abusing
“the same, his Lordship doth strictly charge and
“command, that no Vintner, Coffee-Man, or o-
“ther keeper of publick Houses, do keep open
“his or their Houses on that Day, nor permit
“any Person to Drink or Tipple therein,
“either in time of Divine Service or after-
“wards, upon pain to be prosecuted, not only
“as Offenders against several of the Laws afore-
“mentioned, but also to be proceeded against
“by such other Methods and Punishments, as
“the greatness of the said Offence requires. —

And Order carefully issued out very frequently
by the *Lord-Mayors* of this City.

An in a Word, our Church takes so much
care in this particular, that it is an Ordinary (2)
Article in our Episcopal Visitations, *Whether any in
our Parishes do prophane the Lord’s-day, or on any pre-
tence abstain from coming to Church or the publick
Places, where there are Prayers or Sermons, and spend
their time in Ale-Houses, or Household Affairs.*

(2) Articles of Visitation and Enquiry, &c. In the 4. Episc.
Visit. of Henry Lord Bishop of London, Octo. 3. 1700. tit. 4.
B. The

B. The account you have given of so many *Laws* and *Canons*, doth indeed shew what care hath been taken to see the Day observed: But surely they are People of little Religion, who will be influenced by such Motives, and serve God purely for the sake of *Man*. As for *Christians* who submit to *Principle*, and have any degree of *Vertue* and *Goodness* in 'em, the *very Day* and *what* we remember on it, are inducements so Powerful, that if at any time we think of another World, we must needs bless him who has given us the ravishing prospect of being for ever happy in it. He that believes his Condition to have been once desperate, must needs be brought to acknowledge the kindness of his Deliverer. And since we read, that God *on this day first visited*, and *then Redeemed* the World, and made it as it were the same date of the *Old* and *New* Creation, can any Man live, and not call to mind this *Double Blessing*? And as soon as he is brought to *think*, will he forbear to adore God, both as his *Maker* and *Saviour*? I consider therefore, no Law of this Nature otherwise, than in the *reason* of it, and this to me is more than all the terrors of *pecuniary Mulcts*, or *bodily penalties*, for I have learn'd, and hold good that Lesson of my Redeemer, *fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul, but rather fear him who is able to destroy both Body and Soul in Hell, yea, I say, unto you fear him*—And if any thing is terrible to me in this World, it is what you spake of out of a *Council* at *Paris*, and what Mr. *Field* relates, happen'd at the *Bear-Garden* on the *Lord's-day*, *Feb. 13. 1533.* where the loss of so many lives and limbs are sufficient indications of God's Displeasure against those who make no Conscience of observing this Day.

A. Why

A. Why truly, we may well construe these Judgments of God, into so many *Laws* against the contempt of *that*, on the account of which these, and the like punishments are inflicted. Some have taken pains in making (*a*) *Collections* of such remarkable Passages; and though there are *those* in the World, who much question the truth of such relations, and that *others* consider 'em as the *ordinary events* of Providence, which fall out *indifferently* any Day, without special Application, yet for my part, as I am not very credulous on the one hand, to accept all reports of this kind, so neither on the other, am I hard of belief to admit none. But remembering the case of the *Man* in the *Wilderness*, who by God's immediate Command was stoned to Death, for gathering a few sticks on the Sabbath-day, (though probably there was no wilful contempt of the Festival in what he did, but seemingly a compliance with his present Poverty) I cannot be perswaded, but that God is and will always be jealous of his Honour; and where People are more fully and clearly informed, than I conceive *that Man* was, in the Nature of our *Christian Sabbath*, and yet will venture to transgress, it may provoke the divine Justice to punish sometimes this contempt in a very extraordinary way; and because our *Laws*, or the *Execution* of 'em are still *Defective*, he may be pleased by his severity on a few upon this account, to give warning to the *Rest*, to behave themselves better.

B. Is not this an *Evidence*, that the *Day* is of *divine appointment*, seeing God so much interesses himself in the *Breach* of it?

A. It is an *Evidence* of his high displeasure a-

(*a*) *Spelman's Engl. Councils* in the Chapter of the *Mandate*, &c. *Prynns Histrio-mastix*, Theatre of God's Judgments. Preface to the Practice of Piety. Mr. *Mersson* against Immorality, &c. —

gainst such as presumptuously abuse *any Day* dedicated to his Service. To have *set-times*, and *set-places* to Worship God; To *swear* by his name, and the like, is certainly of *divine institution*, but for the *particular times*, or *places*, or *manner* of Worship, and *forms* of Oaths, these things are left to discretion, yet being by us appropriated to God's Honour, they are very fitly stiled *his Day*, *his House*, *his Worship*, *his Oath*, and according to this Relation to him, he often deals with those who transgress in these particulars, as if he himself had expressly appointed them.

B. Well; The *Worship* of the *Day* is no doubt to me, though I somewhat question the *manner* of the *Worship*. And as to this, that practice of the *Jews*, you reported out of *Jerom*, which I take for the *morak* of the *Sabbath-Rest* (and which some suppose to last to the Captivity) *Contemplation*, and *mental Devotion*, or *Devotion at home*, seems very good and suitable to this design. For as to the *Publick-places* set a part for this use, there are so many Temptations, such variety of objects to engage the Senses, distract the Thoughts, and alienate or withdraw the mind from sacred Reflections, that the numbers of People there assembled, do seem to me to hinder Devotion, instead of helping it. And whereas our going *thither* is look'd on, and pretended to be an invitation for each other to serve with Emulation, our common-Lord, it falls out quite otherwise, and 'tis found by woful Experience, that our *Habits*, *Gestures*, and a thousand instances of Peoples *irreverence*, constrain us to mind every thing more than what we meet there for, so that this *publick Service* of God becomes little less than a *Publick dishonour* to him. But at home and in our Closets, there are none of these interruptions, and which is certainly a very necessary quality in our Prayers, they

they are made in *sincerity* and *Truth*, without the suspicion of *Hypocrisy* or those little Arts Men and Women, mostly use to deceive the Congregation rather than serve God. Here we may be devout without impediments; and the contemplation of God's Attributes, with the effects and emanations of 'em for our good, cannot but have its utmost vigour and extent, because the *Eye* and the *Ear*, are then secured from all temptations of Treachery, nor have they opportunities to let any thing in to disturb and divert the Soul.

A. Can you show me any good in the World but what is or may be abused? Yet is it the less good for having this Entertainment? All that we can honestly say, is, that the *Men* are to blame for giving it this usage. *Meat*, *Drink*, and *Clothes*, are the necessities of Life, and to what excess do we strain 'em? Yet no *Logick* can dispute nor *Rhetorick* dissuade us from *Meat*, *Drink* and *Apparel*. All the Arguments we offer this way, are but so many cautions against *Surfeiting*, *Drunkenness* and *Profligacy*. Nor is it the Creatures of God we censure, but the *Wicks* of those Men who do not treat 'em as they should. The *vanities* of some People in the Church, the *coldness* of others, and the *irreverence* of most are too obvious to every Eye, that will lose so much time as to look and examine them, and it must be lamented, that *Christians* are so supine, and unmindful of what they come into that place for, and so daring as thus to affront God in his own House, and at those very minutes, wherein they would be thought to do him Service. Yet all this concludes little against the true end of our Meeting together; and this advantage the Pious Man has, that the Honour he doth God in his serious Devotion, is made more remarkable amidst a multitude of light and vain Persons about him, and as his sober and grave deportment pleases God better,

and

and gains him a greater respect from such as himself, so 'tis a mighty check to such of the Congregation as are otherwise disposed, and who beholding his behaviour, may be happily brought at length to reflect on their own, and by his *example*, grow more reserved, and careful in what they say or do; so that at the same time he serves God and his Brother, and while he pays his Duty to the one, he becomes an instrument to save the other.

Nor is it to be forgotten, that God has been pleased to afford *these places* the stile of his own House; so that it is a piece of holy Manners to give our attendance *there*; and we may be suspected we are proud or indifferent in his Worship, when we are found to stay away. For although God is indeed *every where*, and fills all parts of the World with his presence and power, yet plainly he is not every where *alike*, not in the same Manner, nor in the same degree in one place as in another. He is in *Heaven*, as a glorious King upon his Throne of Majesty, receiving constant Honours and Hallelujahs, from an innumerable Company of Angels. He is in *Hell*, a Judge, punishing the Souls of the Wicked, for their many Sins against him. He is all over the *Universe* by his ordinary Providence, managing *Nature*, and giving efficacy to the *Earth, Air and Sea*, to accomodate us in our several necessities. But in the Church he is a gracious Father, descending from above to meet his Children, and receive those Addresses they make him, either for the obtaining the Blessings they want, or averting those Calamities they fear, or removing those they already lie under. And this is a greeable to such Texts of Scripture as call the Church, the House of Lord, the Courts of his Holiness, the Habitation of his House, the Place where his Honour Dwelleth, &c. All which infers a more immediate residence of God in such a Place, especially when we solemnly

solemnly Assemble to tender him the respects of our Prayers and Praises.

B. Doth not this contradict what *Steven* avoucheth, that (b) *The most high dwelleth not in Temples made with hands,* — and he fetcheth his proof out of the Evangelical Prophet, (c) *Heaven is my Throne, and the Earth is my Footstool, what House will you build me, saith the Lord, or what is the place of my Rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?*

A. True; we must not look upon God so comprehended or confined to the Church, as the *Idols* of the Heathens were wont to be, who called their Temples the *inclosures of the Deity*, and who conceived, that if they could keep their Gods within those Walls they were safe enough, and needed not to fear any Enemy, which made him in *Alexander*, say, that he liked no God, that would be gadding abroad, and was never contented to stay at home. God is not so grossly limited to this or that place, as to dwell materially in it, which is suspected to be the vain imagination of some among the *Jews*, upon all occasions boasting and crying out, the *Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, as if having the Temple did inforce the Consequence, that they must by that means have the Lord of the Temple too. No, his residence is not so literal and necessary there, but he will withdraw upon the misdemeanours of his People; yet during their Devotion and Obedience to his Will, the *Temple* then, and the *Church* now has eminently his Presence, and is up and down the holy Book called, *His Rest, and Resting Place* — as a particular Mansion, and those words declare him certainly, and more especially there.

(b) Acts 7, 48: (c) Is. 66. 1, 2:

But to proceed to some other considerations. It is to be understood, that our Applications to God, are not only for the *relief of our Wants*, (with respect to which we might pray in any place, because God is every where and ready to hear us) but in a great measure they tend to *his Glory*, to whom these Addresses are made. For every votary brings with him to the *Church*, an open Declaration and Confession of his dependance on God; and the greater therefore the Company is, the greater is the Honour that accrues to God by it. So that because our Christian Service has a double respect, partly to *God*, and partly to *ourselves*, it naturally follows, that the more publick (as in the Church) we express this Service, the more compleat and full it is: And herein it outdoes a *private* Devotion, in as much as we manifestly, and *openly* celebrate the Power and Mercy of our Heavenly Benefactour, and in the face of all the World, own and adore him.

Add to this, that our Meeting in publick, Answers better the notion we ought to have of *Christian Communion*. For with respect to God, we are *all one*, as he would have us be, and we seem to be so while we Assemble in the Church, and unanimously send up our Prayers to Heaven. To be devout at *home*, when there is no *publick Service*, is pious and necessary: But to pray in *private* at *Church hours*, favours of *singularity*, and may be Thought to be *the despising of the Church of God*.— I do not intend cases of *necessity*, as under Confinement or Sickness, yet even under these Circumstances we are so to pray in our *Chambers*, or *Beds*, or *Prisens*, as to have our Desires and Hearts with our devout Brethren, when we think 'em met together. The primitive Christians, as they had *one Heart and one Mind*, so they met in *one Place* to exercise their Religion in, as the most significant instance

instance of their being all Members of *one Body*, and as such Members they had a common concern for the *Whole*, and mutual Charity for *one* another.

Moreover in the *Church*, our Prayers are for the *Publick* good, and therefore better said in a *Publick* way. (d) Here the wants of a People, as a *People* or *Society* of Men and Women are set before God. And as it redounds more to his Honour to bestow *General* Blessings, so it tends more to the good of the *Common-Wealth*, which is of greater concern than any *private Man's* Condition; and yet every *individual* is therein obliged and some way or other has a share of the Benefit. For which, and the like Reasons, our appearance at Church is the most acceptable way of doing our Duty to God. And though probably you may object the Promise of our Lord, that *where two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will be in the midst of em*——— this was not said to lessen the *Church*, but was a word of comfort to them, who had not nor could have the benefit of the *Temple*, or such like Buildings, and therefore should not suffer for what they could not help; but provided they met together *any where else* in his Name, it should be the same thing as if they met in the *Church*, with a greater number of the Faithful. But then tho' this is said to *those* who might be deprived of the Conveniency of serving God in publick Places, yet the Promise reaches not *them* who have these good opportunities, yet neglect or slight 'em. God heard *Job* on the *Dunghill*, *Daniel* in the *Lions Den*, *St. Paul* by the *Water-side*, and *St. Peter* in the *Prison*; yet though we presume not to con-

(d) Quando oramus, non pro uno oramus, sed pro toto populo, &c. Cypr. in Orat. Dom.

fine his Majesty, within those few Places where Publick Service is done, nor so limit him, as not to be elsewhere, when two or three are met in his Name, however, *humanely* and *comparatively* speaking, the Devotion is not so Powerful of *two*, as of *many* People; nor can we well expect, for the reasons foregoing, that God will vouchsafe the same attention to Prayers, said at *our Houses*, as what we offer at his *own*, when we have sufficient means and opportunity of going thither, to make up the Congregation.

But besides the inducements and motives before proposed, there are many advantages, this absence from the Church deprives us of, especially in most instances of the *Ministerial Office*, such as *Absolution*, *Sermons*, and *Sacraments*, the loss of all which the Conscience of a Good Man, cannot easily digest; and in each of which there is unspeakable comfort and benefit to the Soul. Not but *Ministers* are still *Men*, and have many infirmities incident to Humane Nature, notwithstanding the sacredness of their Function, yet they are withal what the Scripture calls 'em, *Men of God*, such as he has been pleased to make *Intercessors*, between him and his People. Sometimes they are the *Mouths* of the Congregation, to send up their Prayers and Praises. Sometimes again, they are the *Voice of God*, to publish and explain his Will. And Both ways they Act with Authority and Power, as *Ministers*, and not barely as *Men*.

That a few illiterate *Fishermen*, whose cunning lay in their *Nets*, and strength in the *Cable*, should be able to Work such a change in the World on a sudden, by confounding Philosophers, and bringing inveterate bigotry into a dislike of its old Errours, this cannot be owing to the *parts* of the Men, to their Education in the Schools, or Proficiency in Learning, but to their *Mission and Apostleship*, on
which

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which God bestowed a Blessing, and whereby he chose to manifest his own Power, by making *weak things to confound the things that are mighty, and base things, and things which are despised, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence.* —

We can do nothing without God. We want his help in the discharge of our Duties, and he is willing to afford it us, and has appointed those Methods he thought best to convey his Grace into our Hearts. And therefore though *Water* in *One Sacrament*, and *Bread and Wine* in the *Other*, be ordinary things in their own Nature, and may seem to carnal Men somewhat surprizing to be told, that the *One* or *Other* can benefit the Soul: Yet so it is; and how contemptible soever these *Creatures* are in themselves, yet by Virtue of the *Ordinance* they are the *means* of Salvation to Christian People. The meaner things are, the greater is the Power which gives 'em efficacy, and such things are purposely used to move us to admire that Power.

The story of *Naaman* and *Elisha*, may serve for illustration. *Naaman* being all over a *Leper*, comes to *Elisha* for cure. The Prophet bid him go to *Jordan*, and wash *seven times* in that River. *Naaman* is angry, and asks whether *Abana* and *Pharfar* Rivers of *Damascus*, were not as good as the *Waters of Israel*? Perhaps the *Waters* might be the same, but not the same to him, because *Elisha* bid him go to *Jordan*, and he expected Obedience, and that Obedience was to cure him. With much ado he went to *Jordan*, and was made clean. To argue rationally, *Naaman's* Objection was not trivial. Why to *Jordan*, why to any *River* at all? In a *Bath* there might be some Virtue, some good quality in this *Fountain*, or that *Spring* immediately issuing from this or that *Mineral*. But for *Rivers*,

which are the concourse or drain of all sorts of Waters, what Medicine could be expected from them? Or if so, why not the Rivers of *Damascus*, as well as a River in *Israel*? But then the stronger the Argument was against the *River*, the greater was his Power who by that River cured him. There was a *Miracle* to be done on this *Syrian*; and therefore the more repugnance there was between the *Means* and the *Cure*, the more discoverable was the hand of God, in restoring his flesh to him. 'Twas hard to bring him to hearken to the Prophet; but he complied, or he had returned again a *Leper* to his own Country. Where God ordains things, the *Cavils* we make, do not so much dispute the *things* themselves, as his *Power* which prescribes 'em. There the reflection ends whatever we think of it. Because we either question his *Wisdom* in appointing such means; or we scruple his *Faithfulness*, whether he will indeed bless 'em; or we doubt his *Omnipotency*, and fear he cannot go through with his Design.

It pleased the Lord for the good of his Church to set a part a select Company of Men, to Baptize and Preach the Gospel. And when he ascended up on high, saith St. Paul, he gave some *Apostles*, some *Prophets*, some *Evangelists*, some *Pastors* and *Teachers* — (to what end?) For the perfecting of the *Saints*, for the work of the *ministry*, for the edifying of the *Body of Christ*, till we all come into the *Unity of the Faith*, and the *Knowledge of the Son of God*, to a perfect *Man* — What these Men were in themselves, you heard before: However this *Seal* gave 'em the pre-eminence: And as they were made the *Keys*, to open the Door of Knowledge to others, so their *Ordination* was the Key to open it to themselves, and furnish 'em with *Abilities* to carry on that great *Business*.

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This then being made an *Ordinance* to edifie and teach his People, (which is the reason they are often called *Builders*, *Master-builders*, *Stewards of the mysteries of God*, &c.) we are to have the same notion of these *Men*, as if God's other appointments, not purely on their own score, but *relatively* and with regard to him, whose *Ministers* they are. And because of this Relation a slight on them reflects on God himself, (e) *he that despiseth you, despiseth me*—— 'tis so by interpretation (f), because the *Messenger* borrows his Name, from the party sending him, and thereupon it is, that the ill treatment of a *Servant*, is an affront to the *Master*, whom we are understood to abuse in the Person of the other. Considering then the *Ministry a Divine Appointment* for the good of the Church, it is to be presumed, that the same Wisdom which gave it being will take care to qualify and bless it, and make it serviceable to such a Christian, as uses the opportunity and frequents those places, where it is daily and publickly exercised in those particulars I before mention'd.

B. I have no disrespect to Men of that Profession. But as for those instances you named, *Abso-lution*, the *Word* and *Sacraments*, the two first especially, their Ministry in these Matters doth not appear so necessary. For as to *Abso-lution*, we take it to be the *Application of the Promises of God in Scripture*, to the case of a wounded Conscience, or as some think, a *Declaration of the Priest*, to let the *Sinner know that God forgives him*, upon the Condition of his Repentance. Now in either of these respects, a Man may serve himself Effectually without the Ministers help, because if he repents seriously, he may, by applying God's Promises to his present

(e) Gal. 4. 11, 12. (f) Vid. Chrysost, Hom. in Gen.

case, ease himself under the weight of his Sins, and the *Minister* can do no more by making the same Application.

Then for *the word of God*; it lies before us, the Book is open, and no Person that sets himself about that holy Study, needs fear success, but may expect that God will send his Grace to enlighten and assist him. However in cases of difficulty, we have many Expositions and Sermons, almost on every Text of the Bible, which being published and exposed to the Censure of the World, are commonly more *pertinent* and *elaborate*, than what are in Course delivered from the *Pulpit*, and therefore more likely to give satisfaction.

The *Sacraments* indeed depend on their Office; and as we are all beholding to them for our *Baptism*, so would we gladly accept their kind Tenders of the *Lord's-Supper*, but that for our *unworthiness* we dare not, lest in so doing, *we Eat and Drink our own Damnation*. And 'tis with no little concern, we see so many running to this Sacrament, without thinking what they do, as appears *afterwards* from their lives and practices, so little answerable to those holy resolutions, Men are supposed to make before they approach that Table.

A. The *Ministers*, whom you say you have respect for, are so much the more obliged to you, since you seem of Opinion, that the *Dignity* of their Function doth not challenge, nor its *usefulness* invite you to it. But I have better hopes of your perswasion, and consider what you said as the Representation of *other Peoples Judgment* rather than your *Own*. However, to say somewhat to your Objections; and first as to *Absolution*. 'Tis true, *Absolution* applies the Divine Promises of Pardon to that Sinner, who is sorry for his Sin,
and

and resolves to live better ; but who can do this so well as the Minister of God, whose Commission Seals to him this Power of Pardon ? An hearty penitent may hope to find Mercy ; and his contrition and tears, are very good *signs* not only of his *Repentance*, but they are withal *Testimonies* of the *Grace* of God, working in his Conscience and preparing it for his Pardon : Yet still he cannot but hesitate and doubt his State, till this publick *Officer* comes and declares him safe ; which if done, he takes courage and rejoices, because he knows God must be just to his Ordinances, and having given the *Minister* a Power to *absolve*, he will ratifie what is pronounced *in his name*, from the mouth of an *Officer* Commission'd by himself. This Commission we have, John 20. 22. *Receive ye the holy Ghost* (saith Christ to his Disciples) *whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whose Sins ye retain, they are retained.* — And that it amounts to a Power of binding and loosing, we find by St. *Matthews* words, 16. 20. *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* — Which the Learned Ancients expound, to be not barely a *Declarative* but *Judicial Power*, who were Men too pious to be Thought to speak *Blasphemy*, and too old to be suspected of *Popery*.

B. I suppose those words, *Whose Sins ye remit, &c.* mean the forgiveness of Sin, obtain'd by applying the word they Preach'd, or by vertue of the *Sacrament of Baptism*, which they Administred to the converts of Christianity.

A. We can't say but *both these* may be *means* and *helps* to take away Sin, but this is not what is intended in that place of St. *John*. Because as to

the *Preaching-Part* and Baptizing, the Disciples had this faculty *(b)* long before. But this Authority and Power of *remission*, was not had till *after the Resurrection*, for though promised while they were on the Coast of *Cæsarea Philippi*, yet 'twas done at *Jerusalem* at that time, when he breathed on 'em, and by that Ceremony signified some further *Addition* of Power, than they *hitherto* had, and therefore must be more than what belong'd to *Baptizing* or *Preaching*.

B. We believe the Apostles might have such an extraordinary Power, but it was *Personal* and limited to them.

A. That cannot be the sence of their Commission. Because it was a *standing Ministry* our Lord now intended ——— for he tells 'em, he *will be with them to the end of the World*, which can no otherwise be than in their *Office*, and the *Succession of Ministers*, whereby he makes good this promise, and will continue it till the Day of Judgment. And thus we understand the Priestly Power, in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, where the *Absolution* is *Authoritative*, and prefaced with the Reason why the *Minister* takes this upon him--- Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left Power in his Church, to absolve all Sinners which truly repent, and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thy Offences, and by his Authority committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy Sins, &c. — 'Tis true, this is not simply *Arbitrary*, but you may call it, if you will, a *Conditional Power*, upon the supposal of *Repentance*; but then be it remembred, that such *Conditions* were necessary even to the *Absolution* of the Lord Jesus. For impenitency and *Unbelief*, were *Bars* to the exercise of his *Ministry*, neither did he cure the

(b) Matth. 10. 7. John 4. 2.

Sick, but with such cautions as these, *be it unto thee according to thy Faith.* — So that though it be confess'd, that the reason of Our, nay of Christ's Absolution depends on the Faith, and Repentance of a Sinner, yet the efficacy is owing to the Ministerial Office, and that Commission our Lord has left with the Church, and who has sent us, as God sent him, *to be able Ministers of the New Testament, and Stewards of the mysteries of God.*

But still some Man will say, *this Man Blasphemeth, who can forgive Sins, but God only?* How dares one like ourselves, perhaps as bad as ourselves, standing in need of that Absolution he pretends to give, usurp thus upon God, and suppose himself able to remit Sin, which being a Crime against God, he alone, who is offended, can effectually Pardon. Thus we dispute against the Persons of Men, without regard to the Commissions that are given 'em. But we forget, that whatever Equality there is otherwise between Man and Man, yet the King's Seal makes a vast difference. Neither is it good Manners to question any Man's Merit, or enquire boldly, how the King came to prefer him. 'Tis sufficient in such cases, the thing is actually so, and 'tis our Duty to submit with modesty and patience to this delegated Power. Every Sin is a Crime against God; and God alone can forgive it, and so far the Doctrine of the Scribes and Pharisees was sound and true; tho' no Objection against Christ, who was the *Messias*, and sent from God. That *Mission* was his Power; and it is *Ours*, because as the *Father* hath sent him, so hath he sent us: So that 'tis no Blasphemy, or Usurpation of God's Prerogative of Pardoning Sin, because his *Ministers* Pardon 'em too, no more than it pinches on the King's Greatness, that others Act by Commission under him. We forgive Sins by appointment and delegation from God;
we

we absolve in *his right* and confessedly in *his Name*, we acknowledge our Power derived from him, and we own that without his *fiat* and ratification, all we say signifies nothing. But then we are sure he doth confirm it, because in the very institution it self, he tells, that *whosoever Sins ye remit, &c.* which are words rehearsed at every *Priests Ordination*, and are not said in vain.

(i) Yet I know, God can do what he designs as well *without* means as *with* them. He can save *without Baptism* and the *Eucharist*. He can Pardon *without the Ministers Absolution*. But these are *extraordinary Cases*; neither do we pretend to tie him to Rules, though we are tied to 'em. With respect then to *these Rules*, and the beaten way of Salvation God has put us in, there is no safety without these means where they may be had, and it is fatal to neglect 'em, because God who makes Ordinances expects we should keep them; and he therefore makes 'em to try our Obedience, which is the main end of all his Appointments. And if we slight 'em, the contempt reflects on the Ordainer, who made 'em Rules for us to walk by, and *as such*, we should not venture to transgress 'em.

And this being allowed, it clears the *second exception* against going to Church, because the *Bible*, and some discourses on it extant in print, may be as well, if not better read at home. (k) For admit the Scripture to be the same on the *Publick desk* and on our *Private Tables*; and that it is *as much* the word of God, in *one place* as in the *other*, yet considering that God has a regard to the *Circumstances* of his Service, as well as the *service* it

(i) *Gratia dei non alligatur medijs.* (k) Vid. *Jewel's Answer to Dr. Cole's second Letter.*

self; and that he calls for *holy Convocations*, and *Religious Assemblies* for the *hearing, reading* and *learning* of his Will; upon this account the use of the Scripture is *not the same* at home, and in the Church, because in the latter our Obedience to the Ordinance weighs down the Scale. And so as to *Sermons*; grant some printed Discourses better in your Sence, because of the *Author's Name*; the sublimeness and strength of his *Matter*, the politeness and sweetness of his *Language*, and other Flowers, which Charm such Readers, as in exercises of this kind propose to themselves no more than pleasure; yet *these* fall very short of what we may hear from the *Pulpit*; nor are they, as to religious Edification, in any respect comparable to it. Because in going to the *publick places* of Worship to hear the word, we do it in *Obedience* to a *Divine Ordinance*; and therefore how weak soever in common Opinion, the *Sermon*, as *preach'd* may seem to be, yet 'tis more likely to benefit him, who comes to it with due attention and care. For the *Blessed Spirit*, that came down from Heaven at first *in a sound*, many times in the *same manner* enters the Hearts of Believers; and while the *Voice* affects the *Ear*, it pleases God to let the instruction sink into the *Heart* to engage the affections, and make 'em at once both *wiser and better*. The weakness of the *Preacher*, is not for the most part so great a Bar to Edification, as want of Faith in the *bearer*. Alas! In strictness, 'tis neither Voice nor Language can move the Conscience, let 'em be never so sweet, and *Charm they never so wisely*. That is *God's Work* by the Ministers mouth. And while we soberly and dutifully attend, as to the *sensible instrument* of an *invisible Power*, we seem not so much to hearken to *him*, whose Voice it immediately is, as to *God himself* who uses that Voice, for the information of his People.

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The Sermons the Apostles Preach'd were very Low, and wanted that *Stile* and *Elegancy*, which might be read in the writings of *Philosophers*, yet God converted Thousands by the *baseness*, by the *foolishness of their Preaching*. Their words were with Power, because they had a Blessing; and how mean soever their *Persons*, and their *way of Speech* were, how *rude* soever they appear'd in their *Dialect* or *Delivery*, yet still they prevailed over the most accomplished *Orators*, who became their Proselytes and submitted to Christianity. And indeed in *their weakness* God manifested his own *strength*, and the *Power of his Spirit*. His Commission was enough to give their Discourses efficacy, whatever their Education or Abilities were, and in all this he consulted his own honour. For where the *Minister* is a *Learned* or *Eloquent Man*, we should be tempted, perhaps, to give the instrument that praise which belongs to God who uses him. As some magnified *Paul*, and *Apollos* and *Cephas*, who forgot *Christ* who sent 'em. But the *unaptness* of the *Tool*, more recommends the *Art* of the *Workman*; and where God thinks fit to employ such as are made remarkable for their want of Knowledge, it is that thereby we may be convinced that the *Energy* and *Power* is purely from himself, and thereupon we are lead to give him the Glory.

I have no design in what I have said to disparage, much less cry down, *private Reading*, I only blame the ill timing of it, and show that it ought not to interfere, or stand in competition with the *publick Lessons* we have in the Church at the hours of Prayer and Preaching. And in this I apply, that of *Christ*, *this is to be done, and the other not left undone*.

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But there is one instance wherein you allow the necessity of the Ministry, and that is the *Sacraments*, one of which you have already received, and would be glad to have the benefit of the *other*, but that the sense of your *unworthiness* keeps you away. And truly who is *worthy* the least of all God's Mercies, much less of this, if *Merit* be properly and strictly taken? Yet since God is graciously pleased to accept us as we are, and affectionately calls us to this holy Table, is it not stupidity and Ingratitude to slight the invitation; indeed is it not a piece of *unworthiness* to reject the Offer? This is a very strange Contradiction, that this *Sacrament* should be called the *Bread of Life*, and yet we say, that *in the day we eat thereof we shall surely die*. The State of Christianity is vastly different from what it was in *former Ages*, when they came so frequently to it, that it was called [*ἡμετέρι θυσία*] the *daily Sacrifice*, because every Day they received it; and in such *Multitudes*, and with so much *eagerness*, that we must confess their *earnestness* and *haste* degenerated into a *fault*, and though their *attendance* was *constant* and *dutiful*, yet their *zeal* was *intemperate* and wanted *knowledge*, and that was the reason of *St. Paul's* caution, (1) *He that eateth and drinking unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself*—words never intended to frighten us from the Communion, on the account of that *Unworthiness* we cannot avoid, but to oblige us to come to it with greater reverence, by not being guilty of *that kind of Unworthiness*, which becomes *good manners* as little as *Religion*, and is no more to be indured at our *Own* than at the *Lord's-Table*. But we catch at any thing, and take so much of the holy Writer as serves our turn, omit-

(1) 1 Cor. 11: 29

ting that wherewith the Apostle explain'd his *Unworthiness*, which was in truth nothing else but *inadvertency and want of Thought*, for the sentence runs thus. *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself* — Οὐ διακρίνον, *not discerning the Lord's Body*. There lay their *unworthiness*, that they did not *consider* what they were eating and drinking. They employed their *Senses* only in that sacred Action. They went no further than *tast and sight*? (m) They eat it as *Bread*, and they drunk it as *Wine*, without remembering that now it was more than *Bread and Wine*, as being *consecrated* to the uses of Religion, and ordain'd to feed the Soul.

But to discharge this place of St. Paul, from the sence you put on it, let us examine the reason why the Apostle thus exprest himself, and whether we deal fairly with him, to wrest his Authority for abetting our neglect, and coolness in this great duty of Christianity.

It appears then, that at the Church of *Corinth*, when People came to the Sacrament, there were great feuds and heats among em on the account of their several *qualities and degrees* in the World, as the place is (n) generally understood; for the *rich* despised the *poor*, look'd big, and thought it disgrace to communicate with 'em: the Apostles words are, *When you come together in the Church, I hear there are divisions among you, and I partly believe it* — v. 18. so that hereby one great end of the Sacrament was lost, for not considering it the *Lord's Body*, given and thus administred to *unite* 'em all to him, and engage their affections to *one another*, whatever their *fortunes and conditions* were. For tho'

(m) *Indignè dicit acceptum ab ijs qui hoc non discernunt à cæteris cibis* — Aug. ad Jan. (n) *Vid. Piscator. Estium. A Lapid. Calvin.*

riches and honour, are very great Advantages and Comforts here, yet they are merely *accidental*; neither do they make the Soul better, nor prefer one before another in the sight of God, who invites us without distinction, and teaches us to make no difference in these cases, because he himself hath made none. This the *Corinthians* it seems were guilty of, and he blames 'em for it, and the rather, because they did it at a *time*, and in a *place*, where they were receiving so great a *Testimony* of God's *Condescension* and *Love* to them, and therefore they ought to have been more humble, and charitable towards one another.

Nor was this all. For they came with so much *irreverence and disorder*, that it was not to be born at any *Common Table*. They crowded in with such *Violence* and *Appetite*, that they had neither patience nor manners to stay for one another, but the *first Comer*, first served himself, and in such *quantities*, that they not only consulted their *natural hunger and thirst*, but *debauch'd* themselves with it to intemperance and *Drunkenness*. *Is this to eat the Lord's-Supper*, saith the Apostle, *for in eating every one taketh before other, and one is hungry, another is drunken. What, have you not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise you the Church of God, &c.* So that we see *St. Paul's unworthiness*, is opposed directly to *this behaviour* of the *Corinthians*, which was not tolerable at any Feast, or before any Company whatever. I think any sober Man, who has no prejudice nor wilfulness, nor affectation in his arguing will easily discover this to be the true meaning of that frightful expression; especially if he casts his Eye on the last verse of that Chapter, where it is said, *if any Man hunger, let him eat at home, that you come not together into Condemnation.* By which we find that their approach to the Communion with carnal desires, as to the ordinary

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food

food of humane Life, was *that unworthiness*, the holy Man reflects on, and the charge against them was, that they did not discern the *Bread* and *Wine*, to be *Sacramentally* the *Lord's Body and Blood*, during the sacred Action.

And if this was *St. Paul's* notion of *Unworthiness*, how miserable, and unjust is the construction we put on't, and how vain the objection we draw from these *Occasional* words to keep us from receiving? We dare not come, because *unworthy*, and we are afraid of Damnation. But it would better sute our Christianity to argue the other way; And because the *unworthiness*, the Apostle speaks of, is *not discerning the Lord's-Body*, then the consequence is, that *to discern*, and consider it in that manner, I proposed, will be a *Sacramental capacity* to fit us for the holy Communion.

How this is to be done, the Apostle in that Chapter partly shews us. For after he had reproved the *Corinthians* for coming to the Sacrament, as to *common Bread and Wine*, he proceeds to instruct 'em in the *nature* and *end* of the holy mystery, by an *Historical* account of its *Institution*. And first he tells 'em, as to the *thing it self*, that when Christ had finished the *Paschal Supper*, he took *Bread* and *Blessed it*, and gave it to his *Disciples* to eat, and called it *his Body*, as he did also the *Cup* which he styled his *Blood*. So that after Consecration, they were to look on those *Elements*, not altogether what they seemed to be, but somewhat more now, in the sacred use of 'em, the *Bread as the Body*, and the *Wine as the Blood* of their crucified Redeemer. Then as to the *end and design* of it; it was to remember Christ—*do this in Remembrance of me*——How Remember him? In his *Passion and Death*, for in eating this *Bread*, and Drinking this *Cup*, ye do shew forth the *Lord's-Death* till he come.——For want of weighing these two things,
what

what they were receiving, and to what purpose it was done, the converts at *Corinth*, run themselves into that danger the Apostle warns 'em of, I mean *Damnation*. And therefore the caution given them, and which concerns us on this occasion is, that we do not approach the Sacrament without *discerning the Lord's Body*——And what that means, and how thereby we may be safe in the discharge of this Duty, were it not late, and that I could persuade my self it might be serviceable to you, I would not grudge my pains to lay it before you; and if desired, shall be ready to do it at our next Meeting, whenever Providence gives the opportunity and brings us together.

B. I wish this Evening would have born it; but I make it my request that it may be to *Morrow*.

A. I know nothing to the contrary, but it may be so. At present,

FAREWELL.

The Fourth DIALOGUE.

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A continuation of the former
Subject.

WHAT it is to discern the Lord's Body. To discern it, is a Sacramental capacity. The Church of England vindicated from over easy Admission of People to the Holy Communion, as appears by her several Exhortations. Two Objections against the Churches way of Administration. First, The Minister's distributing the Elements to the several Communicants. Secondly, The Communicants taking it kneeling. These two points explain'd by the practice of the Jews at the Passover, to which the Sacrament alludes. Two Suppers at the Passover. Two Washings. Christ Washed his Disciples Feet, at the Conclusion of the second or common Supper. Whether Judas received the Sacrament. Authorities against and for it The Objections. Those Objections Answered. Ill Men must not be suffered to Communicate. St. Chrysostom's Resolution in that Case. St. Augustine's Method. The example of St. Ambrose, how he dealt with the Emperour Theodosius on this occasion. Presumptions of a Man's being Wicked, are not sufficient for the Minister to bar him the Holy Communion. St. Augustine's Judgment. The Sacrament Judas took, was not the Sop. The Agapæ of the Primitive

Primitive Christians. The design of them. Much magnify'd by Tertullian, St. Chrysostom, and the Council of Gangra. But because of the abuses exploded by St. Ambrose, a Carthaginean Council, and the Council in Trullo. The Supper when the Sop was given to Judas, and the Supper when the Sacrament was instituted are not the same. The particulars wherein the Sacrament refers to the Passover. Especially that of distributing the Bread and Wine, as the Pater-Familias did at the Jewish Supper to all the guests at Table: Which is the practice of most Churches. Christ did not Grammatically sit at the Passover, nor his Disciples, but lie down. And that lying-down, is supposed to be at the second Supper, and that they did eat the Passover Standing. Standing a praying-gesture among the Jews: And Christians, especially between Easter and Whitsuntide. The reason of it. When that Custom began to decline. An Objection against standing at the Passover. The Objection Answered, and the gesture confirmed. Yet if the Jews lay down or sate at the Passover, they give a reason for it proper to themselves. Christ's standing at the Passover and Sacrament, at the time of Institution, very significant. Yet what gesture he used is doubtful. And though it be said he sate or lean'd down, yet it is not evident when it was and at what part of the Meal. Discumbency and sitting, distinguished in Scripture and in the practice of the Jews. So that their lying down at the Passover, is no Argument for our sitting at the B. Sacrament. Sitting becomes a Feast. But this is a Religious Feast. 'Tis the Memorial of a Sacrifice, and Sacrificers used a gesture of Adoration. A reference to the Mosaic Sacrifices. The meaning of the Ministers laying his hands on the Elements at the Consecration of 'em. What the Church intends by Kneeling at the Sacrament. Adoring before a thing, and adoring the thing very different. The consent of Protestant Churches abroad in this gesture. Dionysius of Alexandria explained, as to standing at

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the Sacrament. An Objection from the practice of the Church; standing at Prayers between Easter and Whitsuntide, and every Lord's-day, whereon to be sure the Sacrament was Administred. The Objection Answered. Honorius's Decree about the Adoration of the Host considered. St. Chrysostom's standing at the Altar cleared.

A. **I** Doubt I disturb you in your Reading.

B. No, good Sir, The Subject I am upon will quickly convince you, that I expected and desired your Company. For this *little Book* you see, are the *Epistles* of the Apostle *Paul*; and I was examining what you were setting forth *last Evening*, concerning the *behaviour* of the People at *Corinth*, while they were *Communicants* at the *Lord's-Supper*; and I find your interpretation warrantable from the Passages of that Chapter, and that the notion of their *unworthiness*, was, the *not discerning the Lord's Body*, i. e. They looked on the *Elements* with an ordinary and carnal Eye; they did *Eat* the *Bread*, and *Drank* the *Cup*, without the relation they had to the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*, and so not regarding them, as the *signs* of something more Excellent, than what their *Senses* presented them with, they were disorderly and intemperate in their *Eating* and *Drinking*. However, Sir, for further explanation of this weighty point; I must entreat you to renew your Discourse, according to promise, and make me understand *that*, which you called a *Sacramental capacity*, or such a kind of *worthiness*, as will give us a *safe* admittance to the holy Communion: Or, in the Scripture Language, What it is to *discern the Lord's Body*, for want of knowing which, a Man *Eats* and *Drinks unworthily*, and in so doing, *he eats and drinks Damnation to himself*.

A. To

A. To proceed then where we left off —

We are to consider the *Bread* and *Wine* in the Blessed Sacrament, to be the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*; not in that sense of the People at *Caper-naum*, mentioned in *John* 6. 52. but according to our *Lord's* own interpretation of it, *Spiritually* and by *Faith*. (o) For to eat the *Bread of Life*, is to believe in him — and so it is observed, that *Christ* had no sooner called himself the *Bread from Heaven*, but he immediately adds, *he that cometh to me, and he that believeth on me, shall never hunger, and shall never thirst* — so that believing in him, is the eating him to eternal *Life*, as the eating of the *sign*, or *Bread*, is for the support of temporal *Life*. To discern therefore the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ* in this holy Ordinance, we must imploy the *mind*, rather than the *Eye*; and while we grind the *Bread* with our *Teeth*, we are to eat the *Body of Christ* by *Faith*. If we think the *Eating* of the *Bread* sufficient, we then conclude it his *real Flesh*, and are content with the *Opus Operatum*, or bare act of receiving. And as to this, our *Lord* is positive, *the Flesh profiteth nothing*. But if we eat the *Bread* by way of *Emblem*, and as it signifies a more durable and noble food, which concerns the *Soul*, then we consider the two parts of that Sacrament; and though we swallow the *Bread as Bread*, yet we discover somewhat more than *Bread* in the sacred *mystery*; and by acknowledging the strict relation between the *sign*, and the *thing* (I mean the *Bread* and the *Body of Christ*) in taking the one reverently, we by consequence receive effectually the other. And by this means, we keep our selves from those two *Errours*, on this Subject,

(o) *Manducare panem istum est credere in eum* — *Aug. in Johan. 6.*

recorded in the Gospel ; because on the *one hand*, we confess the *Bread and Wine*, to *continue* such, even *after* Consecration, with respect to their own Nature (which probably was the mistake of those at *Capernaum*) and on the *other hand*, we find the *Elements* to be *more than Bread and Wine*, in the use and Application, which those of *Corinth* did not Remember, and through that inadvertency indangered their Condition, by abusing the *Bread and Wine*, which in the *mystery* referred to the *Body and Blood of Christ*, and thereupon, as he himself was pleased to tell his Disciples, *he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me* — Though they that illighted *Man*, did not think to reflect upon *God*, yet certainly so it was, because of that strict *Union* between *God and Christ*, and between *Christ* and his *Disciples* : So he that either neglects, or carries himself irreverently, at the holy *Table*, while he *eats the Bread and drinks the Wine*, may be said to despise or dishonour, even *Christ's Body and Blood*, because the *Bread and Wine* relate, and are the *signs* of 'em at the Moments of receiving; and therefore on this account, that Person (whoever he be) indangers his Salvation.

Again, to discern well the *Lord's Body*, in the holy *Sacrament*, we are withal to consider the reason of that sacred action. The reason of the *Sacrament* is, to put us in mind of *Christ's Passion and Death*, and to show that his *Body* was once broken on the *Cross*, and his *Blood shed* for our *Redemption*. A thing which ought never to be forgotten. And in order to help our frail Memories, this *Mystery* was appointed, wherein the broken *Bread* is an *Emblem* of his torn *Body*, and the *Wine poured out*, a Representation of the shedding of his *Blood* to become the *Saviour* of *Man*. So that barely to *Eat* and *Drink* is not enough, without considering,

why

why we eat and drink, that our Hearts may be impreſt with the unſpeakable *Mercy* ſhown us in the *Sacrifice* and *Death* of *Chriſt*. In a word, this conſideration, not only ſets before us the *Bread* and *Wine*, as the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, but further repreſents the *Body broken*, and the *Blood ſhed* for the Remiſſion of Sins.

Nor is this all. We conſider moreover, that in this *Action* we not only remember *Chriſt's Body Sacrificed* for us, but we eat his *Fleſh* with full *Aſſurance*, that though *Chriſt's Body* was *Dead* and *Buried*, yet it *aroſe again*, aſcended to a *Life Immortal*, and is made the *Seed of Eternal Life* to every *Chriſtian*, who rightly applies, and faithfully eats it at the *B. Sacrament*. For we argue thus, that if this *Body*, by the Power of the *God-head* joined to it, raiſed it ſelf to a *Life of Glory*, therefore every good *Communicant*, who receives this *Body*, ſhall be, by the ſame Energy, raiſ'd up with him to the like Condition. And this is the reaſon, why our *Lord* called himſelf the *Living-Bread*, becauſe he who *eats his Fleſh* and *drinks his Blood* ſhall live for ever, it being impoſſible for that *Body* to miſcarry, which has well entertained this powerful principle of *Life* and *Immortality*.

It muſt be added; That in the performance of this holy Duty. We not only look on the *Sacrament* in the way of *mystery*, and as an *Emblem* or *Signification* of the *Death of Chriſt*, in his *Body broken*, and his *Blood ſpilt* for us, but, as was ſaid, we further inquire into the true *Occaſion* of thoſe *Sufferings*, or *Why* his *Blood* was ſpilt, and his *Body* broken. And as on the one ſide, we find therein, that this was done out of *Mercy* and *Pity* to us; ſo on the other we may eaſily diſcern thoſe neceſſities of ours, which called for this miraculous *Aſſiſtance*, without which we could not be recovered. Now a ſerious Meditation on theſe two points,

points, must needs have on us a double influence; *First*, To make us *thankful* to God, and move us to *love* him, who *so loved* us: And *Secondly*, When we call to Mind, that *our Sins* were the *Cause* of that Bloody usage towards the Body of our Redeemer, which at the *Sacrament* we represent in the *broken Bread* and the *Wine poured out*, such a reflection may invite us to abandon our *Sins*, and not think on 'em, but with amazement and horror, lest we should be thought *Accessory* and *consenting* to his Death, nay, *Crucifie him a fresh and put him to an open shame*. Besides; we go to the *Sacrament*, as a *Pledge* of our Pardon, and as a *means* to apply the *Merits of Christ's Body given and broken*; and we conclude after this manner; That if the *Sacrifice of Christ's Body* on the Cross, was in the *general* a sufficient *Atonement* for the *Sins* of the *whole World*, Therefore the *particular* application of it, as in the *Sacrament*, will certainly do for my *Sins* in the *individual*, if I sincerely and heartily take it. Which if a Man doth, and approacheth the *Holy Table*, with an humble earnestness to be rid of his *Sins*, for which *Christ* died, and whose Death is *there* commemorated, he will be induced to do what he can to leave his *Sins* behind him, when he goes to the *Communion*, and not only suspend but renounce them for ever.

In all which, you see the *Sacrament* is a *Subject* which calls for our most *discerning Thoughts*, and a very serious Application. A Christian before he goes to it, is to take all the ways he can by *Advice*, *Book*, *Meditation*, and by the help of all of them together, to inform himself, *what* he is going to do, and *whither* he is going. Not to approach it, hand over head, as we say, with little *Zeal* and less *Knowledge*; for want of which *Knowledge*, I cannot see, how a Man can be, in a Religious sense, *Zealous* at all. *First*, We examine

mine *what* the Sacrament is *in it self*, we endeavour to discern that; and *then* we examine *ourselves*, whether we so consider it. We find the food *Mystical* and *Spiritual*; we go therefore to it with *Spiritual Appetites*, with the hunger and thirst of the Soul, and with a *full perswasion*, that though the mouth receives, yet the Spirit is fed in it; we discern therein the great *condescension* of Almighty God, *first* in taking, and *then* in giving his *Body* and *Blood* for us; and so considering the debasement of the *God-head* under this veil of *Flesh*, upon a little further inquiry, we cannot but discover, that exceeding *Love*, which inclined and engaged him to it. This thought will oblige our affections to him, as also to one another, as the most intelligible and visible testimony of our being devoted to him. And in a word, finding it a *Feast of Love*, we shall be induced to Love God and our Neighbour.

And to come to a Period. The Religious enquirer is made sensible that the *Sacrament* is an *Holy-Feast*, and thereupon as to what concerns him, he thinks it his business at that time to make, it *Holy*, which is not rarely the meaning of the word *ἁγιασμός*. He puts a great difference between *this Table* and his *own*, between *this Bread* and his *own*; and he sutes his Appetite to the *Meat*, and his respects to the *Company*. The *Bread* is the *Body of Christ*; The *Company* is *God*, and his Holy *Angels*, *less Visible*, but not *less Present* than those who Communicate with us. This is the Difference we do and ought to make of the *Lord's Body*, for so we call *this Sacrament*, from the strict Friendship between the *sign* and the *thing*; so that, as I said, the contempt shown the one will reach the other; as on the contrary, the respect we give it will redound to our good, to whom it is indeed the *Flesh of Christ*, and the *Bread which came down from Heaven*, and which if a Man eat, he shall never die. —

B. It

B. It is to be feared, Men go not to the Communion with these Thoughts; because, if they did, they could not be guilty of those many *Enormities*, we daily find 'em chargeable with almost as soon as the *Sacred Action* is over.

A. (p) Secrets belong to God, and he alone *Searches the Heart*, we cannot dive into the Consciences of People; and although in God's sight Men *appear* what they *are*, yet on our parts it becomes us to take them for what they *appear*. Their carriage then at the *Holy Sacrament* being *outwardly* sober, our *charity* Commands us to believe them *inwardly* pious, and to hope what is so far well done, they do it by *principle*, and not out of any *Worldly* or *carnal design*. If their *after* practice contradicts this Opinion, yet that is no warrant for us to judge them Hypocrites *before*. For *good Thoughts*, and a *remiss carriage* have too often their *Turns* and *Successions*. The *Spirit* is sometimes *willing*, when the *Flesh* is *weak*. And a vertuous resolution is frequently run down by an impetuous, vicious Habit, especially when the tempter puts on double diligence, and uses his utmost efforts to reduce them, when he finds 'em in so fair a way to renounce him, and his interest for the future. No *Custom* is easily broken. And therefore though Men may be sensible of their Errours, are willing to leave them, and do some part of the Duty they owe *God* and the *Soul*, if they continue not, without some excursions, in that good way they are entred on, the reason is, because it requires no little time to *undo* ill *Habits*, as well as to *make* 'em. And if they can be perswaded, to be constant at the *Sacrament*, and in order thereto, consider and provide for it, it is not to be much doubted, but in

due time a better Habit may succeed, and notwithstanding some *relapses* or intervening failures, the *Grace* of God, which *left* them by Degrees, may in the same Method *return* again. However the *Parable* of our Lord tells us, there will be *Tares*, among the *Wheat*; and it is the Work of the *Angels* at the last day, to make a *separation* and distinction between them. But let the worst be granted; there can be in the mean while no reflection on the *Church* or *Ministers*, upon this account; because where Sins are committed, and yet have not reached the *Ministers* Knowledge, he gives those *secret Offenders* such warning as this, (q) That their danger is great if they receive the same unworthily, for then they are guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ their Saviour, they eat and drink their own Damnation, not considering the Lord's Body. They kindle God's Wrath against 'em; they provoke him to plague them with diverse Diseases and sundry kinds of Death——He exhorts 'em therefore, out of St. Paul, to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup——(r) and saith he, If any of you be a Blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, an Adulterer, or be in malice or envy or any other grievous crime, repent you of your Sins, or else come not to this Table, lest after the taking of the holy Sacrament the Devil enter into you as he entred into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquity, and bring you to destruction both of Body and Soul——This is the care taken in case of private Offences, industriously concealed from the Eye of the World; and what can the Church do more, in these instances, than to set before them the Divine-vengeance, if they venture to come with so much guilt to the sacred Table. But

(q) 3. Exhort. before Com. (r) 1. Exhort.

where Sins are open and scandalous, another Method is used ; and the (s) Canon requires, that no Minister shall, in any wise, admit to the receiving of the holy Communion, any of his Cure or Flock, which be openly known to live in Sin notorious, without repentance, nor any who have maliciously and openly contended with their Neighbour, until they shall be reconciled. Agreeable to what is in the Rubrick before the Communion — (t) And if any be an open, and notorious evil liver, or have done any wrong to his Neighbour, by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended, the Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented, and amended his former naughty Life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied, which before were offended ; and that he hath recompenced the parties, to whom he hath done wrong, or at least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may--- (u) The same order the Curate shall use with those, betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to Reign, not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table, until he know them to be reconciled — (w) So it was ordered in the injunctions given by King Edward VI. Also, forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing, which most displeaseth God and is most contrary to the Blessed Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour : Curates shall in no wise admit to the receiving thereof any of their Cure and Flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his Neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatever Controversy hath been

(s) Can. 26. (t) Second Rubr. (u) Third Rubr. (w) Ann. 1547.

between them : And nevertheless, their just Titles and Rights, they may charitably prosecute, before such as have Authority to hear the same. —

All which Orders and Rules, if neglected by some Ministers, the fault you see, is not in the Constitution, but Men: Yet many punctually observe 'em; at least in such a way as the perverseness of the Age will bear, I mean, the Admonition is managed with prudence and tenderness, so as the Offender may not through too much rigour and shame be tempted, to add Obstinacy to his Sin, and being roughly handled, grow much more incorrigible, than otherwise he might have been.

But to say, what you have observed, that most Men are wretchedly impious, even upon the most extraordinary Acts of Religion; and after the Sacrament relapse to their old Courses; what can a sober Man infer, but the general decay, whereby sound Principles and good Manners, yield to corrupt Nature, and People are hurried in this Manner, to what will end in their Eternal disgrace and pain. A Man that is sensible of this Universal degeneracy, is bound to bless God that his Circumstances and Temper is better than what others have; but then his Charity inclines him, to Pity and Lament the Condition of his Neighbour, (x) and the more careless he finds the other in the discharge of his Duty, the more diligent he will be in doing of his own, that by his example, at least, God may be glorified in the midst of a perverse generation.

'Tis surely a very odd way in me to forbear Religion, because others refrain it; and at the same time to find fault with my Neighbour for his neglect, and yet my self imitate him in it. Most Chri-

(x) Vid. Lactant. de cultu vero, c. 18.

stians either come not at all to the *Holy Communion*, or if they do, it appears plainly, they live not *answerably* to it. Is this an excuse to keep me away, who perhaps have better Thoughts, and Grace enough to see the common miscarriages, and withal do abhor 'em? Shall I neither *eat* nor *drink*, because others *surfeit* in so doing? And must I never approach the *Sacrament*, because of my Company, whose goodness I suspect, and think them not sincere enough in that sacred Application? This is too much *like* the *Pharisee*; nay 'tis somewhat *worse* than he, because, though he bragged of a way of Life much before that of the *publican*, yet 'twas no scandal to him to find *that Sinner* in the Temple; Nor was the *Publican's* being *there* any reason that *he* should *stay away*.

I intend no reflection on you, whom the Sense of your *unworthiness* keeps from the *Sacrament*, and who blame others, for not being as sensible as you are. Yet let me take the liberty to add this, That even *those* you speak of, comply with a *Divine Ordinance* by their outward appearance at the *Holy Communion*, which is a piece of *Homage* done to *Christ*, and so far they own him to be their *Lord* and *Redeemer*. And though their behaviour is amiss *afterwards*, yet 'tis not safe for us to Condemn what they did *before* (2) *If a Man say* (as the Church speaks) *I am a grievous Sinner, or I am not worthy, and therefore am afraid to come, wherefore do you not repent and amend? When God calleth you, are you not ashamed to say you are not ready?*

(2) Second Exhort. post. Com.

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It is observable in the *Parable*, that when the Men *excused* themselves, for their non-attendance at the *Wedding-Feast*, the *King* was very *Angry*, and pronounced them all *unworthy*; and upon no other account, but *because* they would not come. (a) Their *Apologies* incensed him; and because they *slighted* his *Supper*, on that account they made themselves unfit for it. And we must take notice further, that when the *Servants*, (according to their Lord's Order) went out into the *High ways*, and gathered together all, as many as they found both *Bad* and *Good*, whereby the wedding was furnished, yet of all this *mixt* multitude, *One* only Man had not on a *Wedding-Garment*. So gracious was the *King*, not so much to consider the People themselves, as their *cheerful regard* to the invitation he sent 'em. I need not tell you this *King* was *God*. The *Feast* he made may be well construed into the *Holy Sacrament*. How he understood the *unworthiness* of his guests, is plainly discovered from the displeasure he took at their absence, tho' their seem'd something of good *Manners*, in the excuses they returned him. And with what a favourable Eye he beholds our Obedience, is it not seen in this, that out of such a *number*, and such *variety* of Men, he rejected but *One*, for being impudent and a sloven. Remember, my Friend, what the word saith, *To obey is better than Sacrifice*. And where is that *unworthiness* you and others alledge, when the *Will* is good, and the *Heart* willing? He that shows this good disposition, and *prepareth his Heart to seek God, the Lord God of his Fathers*, it is not to be doubted, but that Prayer will be heard, which King *Hezekiah* once

(a) *Quia, sci. illam contemnendo eadem se fecere indignos.*
A Lap.

offered up on the like occasion, namely, That the Lord will Pardon him, though he be not cleansed, according to the Purification of the Sanctuary.

B. I must confess the Parable inviting. And if that Marriage-Feast be applied to this Religious Supper, it bespeaks a great unworthiness, not to accept the invitation.

But if a Man were disposed for that Ordinance, the Manner of Administring it, is no small Obstacle or hindrance. For the Method being altered, which the Lord himself was pleased to use at the time of Institution, it is apt to create offence to the Conscientious Communicant, to see no regard had to what he did; and when he finds the Church taking such liberty, as makes it quite another thing than what it at first was, he thinks he may venture on the same liberty to stay away, out of a reasonable distrust, that the efficacy of the Sacrament is utterly lost, by such an affected and needless change in it. I instance in two things; One is the Ministers delivering the Bread and Cup to every Communicant, and using a form of words, to each of 'em, when he delivers it, whereas our Lord said in the Plural (b) Take, eat and divide it between you --- leaving it to the Disciples to serve themselves with Bread and Wine, set before 'em for that purpose on the Table. The other is, that we are obliged to eat and drink, Kneeling, expressly against the gesture of the Text, which represents it sitting. For so Matthew, Now when the even was come, he sate down with the Twelve: And Luke --- He sate down, and the Twelve Apostles with him; which is indeed a Table gesture, and better suits the notion of a Feast, and the Fellowship supposed to be among those, who eat and drink together.

(b) Matth. 26. 26. Luke 22. 17.

A. In the Ecclesiastical Rites, † faith Origen, There are many things requisite to be done, though every Body doth not apprehend the reason of them; and among the rest, he instances the Ceremonies used at the Holy Eucharist. Of which though we should not be able to give a precise account, yet that's no ground for us to quarrel with 'em. Without doubt the Church of God hath a very great Power in her hands; to make Rules for decency; and as to the particular we are upon, you see we celebrate the Sacrament in the Forenoon, not in the Evening; and Fasting, not after Supper, though it is evident that at the first institution it was quite otherwise. And this St. Augustine calls an Apostolical Tradition, which though some African Churches, in his time, did not intirely observe, but (according to the Canon of a Council at (c) Carthage) upon the Thursday before Easter, gave the Sacrament at Evening and after Supper, as the livelier Representation of what Christ had done; yet the Council (d) in Trullo, took away the exception, as a Deviation from the Ancient Practice, and ordered the Sacrament to be taken Fasting, as well on that day as the rest. We, following the Traditions of the Apostles and Fathers, Decree, that they shall not break their fast on the fifth day at the end of Lent—— (e) Tertullian indeed saith, the Eucharist was given ordinarily [Tempore Victus] at Meals; and the practice in all likelihood was grounded on St. Paul's Language, who calls it Supper in his time; 1 Cor. 11. But St. Chrysostom's Judgment on the place is, that the Apostle did not name it Supper, because administred in the Evening, but with respect to the time of the institution, which the Gospel

† In Num. (c) Conc. Carthag. Can. 44. (d) Concil. Constantin. Can. 29. (e) De coro. Mil.

faith was *after Supper*. Yet *Christ* in this *Institution*, as afterwards *St. Paul*, had more regard to the *thing* it self than the *manner* of it — *Do this in Remembrance of me.* — And when that end is answered, the *Sacrament* is *Well Administred*. And therefore though we still do, and must retain the *breaking of Bread*, and *giving* it to the *Communicants*, and after it the *Cup*, as a (f) *form* so necessary to the *Sacrament*, that without it 'twould very much suffer, (g) yet for other *Circumstances*, as the *Upper-room*, the *Number Twelve*, and the like, we look on them as *indifferent things*, which may be *omitted* or *changed*, as tends most to *Conveniency*. — For *Christ* did not say, *do this after Supper*, or *sitting*, or being so *many* together, neither did the *Apostles* ever so understand him — but *do this* — and the rest he left to discretion.

In reverence then to the *Sacrament*, the *Priest* distributes *singly* the *Bread* and *Wine* to the *Company*, the better to avoid that confusion, which would certainly follow, if they were left to themselves, as in the case of the *Corinthians*, which the *Apostle* observed, and the disorder moved him. Again, it is *Administred* to *Communicants* *Kneeling*, as being a proper gesture, to *signifie* the great sense they, to whom it is handed, have of the *Blessing*; and to *testifie*, with what *humility* of *Soul* and *Thought* they take it from the *Minister*, whom *God* hath made the instrument to convey it to them.

(f) Vid Forbes. Iren. l. 1. c. 3. (g) Chamier l. 7. c. 15. de Euchar. & l. 8. c. 3. Synopf. purioris Theol. Disp. 45. Muscul. de coena Dom. Calvin. Instit. l. 4. c. 17. n. 43. Bishop Jewel's reply to Harding Art. 2.

But because you object our *Lord's Method*, which we seemingly neglect, let us consider *that* a little; and the better to understand it, we shall be forced to examin *what* the *Custom* of the *Jews* was at the celebration of the *Passover*, which the action of *Christ* in a great measure refers to, and after *which Supper*, he appointed his own.

At the *Passover* then there were (b) *Two Suppers*, The one consisted of a *roasted Lamb*, an *unleavened Cake* and *bitter Herbs*; and *This* was *Sacramental*. The other, was ordinary and in the way of supply, to make up a full meal, the *Lamb* of it self, not being sufficient for the *Company*, if the number was not small. At the beginning of the *first*, they had a *Cup* of *Wine*, which went round the *Table*; and *this* is it *St. Luke* speaks of——
He took the Cup and said, take this and divide it among your selves — or hand it round till you have all drunk, but was not the *Evangelical Cup*, for that he was not yet come to, as appears v. 20. the new institution, not commencing till after *Supper*, whereas this was before it. This done the *Pater-Familiâs*, or *Governour* of the *Feast*, saith to those at *Table*—*This is the Passover we are going to eat, the Memorial that the Lord past over the Houses of our Fathers in Ægypt, (i) when he slew the first born of Pharaoh, and all his Subjects.*—Then lifting up the dish of *Herbs*, he adds, *We eat these to show how the Egyptians made the lives of our Ancestors, uncomfortable and bitter.* After this, holding up the *unleavened cake*, he proceeds, *We eat this, in remembrance of the haste our Fathers were in, when they left Ægypt, having not time enough to leaven*

(b) *Gerhard Harm. Evang. c. 179. Scalig. de Emend. Temp. A Lap. in Matth. Arias Mont. ex Rabbiniis, in Matth. 26. (i) Maimonid. apud Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. in Matth. 26. 26.*

their dough—Let us therefore praise the Lord, &c. in the words of the 113, and 114, *Psalms*. And having thus, or in some *Catechetical* way, instructed the Persons present in the *Nature*, and use of the *Passover*, (on which account this Night was called the *Night of Annunciation*, and from hence St. Paul borrowed, and applied the word to our Sacrament, wherein we do shew forth the Lord's Death till he come, 1 Cor. 11. 16). He takes the Bread and breaks it (whence he was stiled the *Breaker*) and Blesses it in this form. *Blessed art thou O Lord God of the World, who bringest food out of the Earth*—and then eating one Morfel of it himself, (k) he distinctly hands and distributes the remainder to the rest of the Company one after another in the like Proportions, or quantities, not less than an (l) *Olive*, nor bigger than an *Egg*—Sometimes before he gave it, he dipt it in the *Charoseth* or *Sauce* made of Dates, Raisins, Figgs, and Vinegar, as thick as *Mustard*, and with the Colour of *Clay*, to put them in mind how their Fathers wrought Clay in *Egypt*.—

And this is the (m) *Sop* the Evangelist mentions, which Christ gave to Judas, and after which the Devil entred into him.——This done, he takes the paschal Flesh, and saith, *Blessed art thou, O Lord God, the Eternal King, who hast sanctified us by thy Precepts and Commanded us to eat*. Then he falls to eating with the rest of the guests, but in small Portions, suited to Religion and not Appetite. After this they proceed to the (n) *Second Course*, as we may Term it, or the *Vulgar Supper*, which was made up of what might please the Palate or

(k) *Singulis dat seu distribuit*. Camero. Bucer. (l) *Quanta est Oliva distribuit singulis accumbentibus*—Tremel. (m) John 13. 26. (n) *Protrahit carnem hoc & illud edens prout libet*. Matignon.

fatisfie Hunger. Of which when they had plentifully eaten, the Master of the Family concludes (o) *This Night I will eat no more*, which explains that Expression of Christ, *I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.*—— Supper being ended, he takes the *Second Cup*, and saith over it, *Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the World, who hast made the fruit of the Vine.*—— This they all drank of, and then *Sung an Hymn*, (as Christ also did *Matth. 26. 30.*) which was called the great *Hallelujah*, beginning at *Psalms* the 115, and ending at 118. And hence this Cup was (†) named the *Cup of Praise*, and from the infusing Grace, the *Cup of Blessing*, which St. Paul alludes to, *the Cup of Blessing which we Bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ?* 1 Cor. 10. 16.

As soon as the *Pater-Familiars* had drunk of this Cup, he said, *This Night I will drink no more*—— and this occasioned that Declaration of our Lord, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come*——i. e. not till after his Resurrection, for it is evident, he did eat and drink with his Disciples, after he arose from the Dead, though not for Hunger sake, or upon any *Legal consideration*, but to satisfie them as to the reality of his Body, and the Truth of his being Risen. It doth not appear when this Addition of the Cup was made. (p) In the Institution of the *Passover* there is not a word of it. Yet the *Talmudists* ground it, on that of *Moses*, (q) *Deut. 8. 10.* and the *Rabbins*, call it an *Ancient Tradition* (r); and the design of the *Fathers* in this practice was to in-

(o) *Et exinde nec quicquam cibi gustat omnino ut gustus maneat in Ore ipsius. Idem.* (†) *πρόσθετον ὑμνήσεως.* (p) *Exod. 12* (q) When thou hast eaten and art full, then shalt thou Bless the Lord thy God, &c.—— (r) *Bucer* in *Matth.*

gage themselves, and the People to love God who both ways bountifully fed 'em. The reason the Jewish Doctors give is, because a Man is obliged by the Law to make his Family merry upon all the Festivals, according to that in Deut. 16. 14. *And thou shalt rejoice in thy Feast, thou and thy Son---* but how can this be done without Wine (s) which cheereth God, and maketh glad the Heart of Man. But 'tis not material, as Calvin saith, nor worth while to enquire when the Custom commenced, or on what occasion it began. 'Tis plain, our Lord complied with it, and referred to *this Cup* in his own holy Institution, and has made it an integral, and essential part of our Christian Sacrament, and indeed if a comparison may be used, the most lively representation of his Sufferings in the shedding of his most precious Blood. And in this very instance we may discover the Power of the Church to make some Additions even to the Ordinances of God, when they have a pious Signification, and are warranted by their usefulness, tho' not expressly Commanded in Scripture; no more than *this Cup* of the Passover, which yet was well accepted, and approved by Christ who drank it, observed the Ceremonies of it, and has made it necessary now in the times of the Gospel. But to return. At the close of this Supper, it is supposed Christ arose and Washed his Disciples Feet, according to that of St. John, (t) *Supper being ended, he riseth and layeth aside his Garment*—— by which Supper, most likely he intended the Second or common-Supper, or else it might be Thought he would have treated it with more respect, and added *Paschal*, or some other word for a Mark of Honour and Distinction. The Ceremony being over,

(s) Judg. 9. 13. Pf. 104. 15. (t) John 13. 2. 3.

he sitteth down again; and having finished the Institution of the Evangelical Supper, he dismisseth Judas, and then descends to that excellent Sermon of Consolation to his Auditours, we read in 14, 15, 16, 17. Chapters of St. John: And after it goes to the Garden, whither the Traitor came with a band of Soldiers to take him, Chap. 18. 3.

B. (u) I should rather think this washing Antecedent to the Jewish Supper, because that was the way both of the Hebrews and Gentiles, to wash their Feet before discumbency, lest otherwise the Beds on which they lay at their Meals, and also the Guests might suffer for want of it.

A. You say well; and so it is in the Jewish Ritual, directing them to Wash their Feet before they sate at Table. And without doubt our Lord did so in conformity to their Rule, and upon the reason you mention. And their sitting or lying after the Fashion of those Days, must needs suppose such Washing. But the Paschal Canon required two Washings, the one according to the ordinary Custom, the other out of Reverence to the Passover, which was called *Lotio Paschalis*, and which Christ improved, to recommend humility to his Disciples, as appears from the Application he makes of it, John 13. 13. to 17. (w) And though Peter seems to wonder at this Washing. v. 6. Yet the surprize did not proceed from its being a new thing, but he was confounded to see the Master do this to the Servant, and God to Man. Lord dost thou wash my Feet, saith Peter, amazed at the Condescension. Jesus answered, what I do, thou dost not know now, but thou shalt know hereafter—meaning that he should by and by more fully un-

(u) Gerhard. loc. cit. (w) Sca'ig. de emend. temp.

der stand

derstand it, as he did, when Christ sat down again, and began the Discourse on what he had done. And the insinuation was good, saith (x) St. Bernard, for by this *Washing* of their Feet, before the *Institution* of the Blessed Sacrament, is signified and taught, the *Preparation* we ought to make by serious Repentance, when we put on a design of going to the Holy Communion, (y) that so by *purifying* and cleansing of the *Heart* from all the Pollutions and filth of Sin, we may with *innocency* approach to the *Altar*, and *worthily*, and with benefit receive that Sacred *Mystery*.

B. The intimation is wholesome and useful. But if the *Institution* of the *Lord's-Supper* was after the *washing* of the Disciples Feet, and that *washing* when the *Second Course* was over, how came *Matthew* and *Mark* to say, (z) *while they were eating*, or when they were at Supper (for this is the proper English of what they say, *the Act continuing and not ended*,) then *Jesus* took *Bread*, i.e. the Bread he was going to Consecrate. (a) *Austin* times the *washing* of the Disciples Feet, previous to the Sacrament, before the conclusion of Supper. The *Paschal Supper*, saith he, being finished, and the other begun; as they were eating, Christ arose and washed their Feet.——And again, (b) You must not understand the Supper over, for they were still eating. And whereas (c) *Luke* and *Paul* word it, after Supper, and when he had supped [*μετὰ τὸ δεῖναι*], this doth not contradict the other Evangelists, who say, *ἐδύντων δὲ αὐτῶν*, as they were eating, or as they did eat, (d) because the one side mean the *Paschal*

(x) De cœn. dom. (y) *Pedes*, i.e. *affectus animæ* & *affectus ablutione indigent*. Ferus. (z) *Ἐδύντων δὲ αὐτῶν*, Matth. 26. 26. Mark 14. 22. (a) *Illis cœnantibus*. De consens. Evang. (b) Tract. in Joh. (c) Luke 22. 20. 1 Cor. 11. 25. (d) Vid. Maldonat.

Supper, which was *over*, and the other, the *Vulgar* or *Second* part of it which was just *begun*. And to this inclines that of *John*, he *arose from Supper*, not *after* it, to show it lasted till both the *washing* and *Sacrament* were finished; *about the close of Supper*, saith *Piscator*, but *before Supper was done*.

1. When a Man saith, Supper is done, or *after Supper*, though the *Supper* should consist of *several Parts* or *Courses*, he must needs be understood to mean the *whole*. The *Paschal Supper* of the *Jews*, being attended by a *common Meal*, though diversely considered, yet made *one Supper*; and when the *Holy Writers* declare it *over*, there is no Room left to divide the *one* from the *other*, unless there had been some special and particular mention made of *either* to infer the distinction. *St. Paul* therefore, and *St. Luke* saying μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, it must either signify *both parts* of the *Supper*, which because of their *Contiguity* or quick *Succession*, were looked on as *one*, or at least *that course*, more properly and vulgarly called the *Supper*, and which the other *Evangelists* speak of, or else the reverence which they must be supposed to have for the *Passover*, and the Custom of the *Jews*, wherein they had been bred, had made them use other Language, as *Pasch* or the *Paschal Supper*, and not barely *Supper* as a common, indifferent Meal. That *St. John* saith, (e) *Christ arose* [ἐκ δεῖπνου] *from Supper*, i. e. as you interpret it, while *Supper* continued, or while they were eating. (f) All the *Latin Translations* render it, either with Elegancy, à cœnâ, or more flatly, for Explanation sake, post cœnam, and cum cœnassent, the true *English* of all which is, *after Supper*. And if *St. Matthew*

(e) ἐκ τοῦ δεῖπνου, *John*. 13. 4. Sub illius cœnæ finem. *Piscat*, in *Matth*. (f) Vid. *Maldonat*. *Jansen*. A Lap. Ferum, &c. and

and St. *Mark*, deliver the Passage by *Participles* [ἐδόντων] we ought to place them in the *second indefinite*, and make them speak in [*Præterito* or] the time, not only present, but perfectly *gone*. For these *two Tenses* are often confounded, and those Authors in this very word will justify the assertion. St. *Matthew*, giving an account of the *Miracle of the Loaves*, (g) tells us, *and they that had eaten, were about five thousand Men*. The very same words are used, Chap. 15. 28. and rendered, *they that did eat*, (h) and so St. *Mark* treating of the same *Miracle*, writes in the same manner, changing only the ἐδόντες into φάγοντες, and *they that did eat of the Loaves*, &c. In which Places you see these holy Pen-Men, whom you object, represent by those participles *what was done*, and not *what was doing*; for the multitude had all fed and were filled; and as an evidence and sign of it, the fragments were collected, and put into several Baskets; and then after all this, they proceed to give us the number [ὡς ἐδόντων] of *those that had eaten*. (i) However, it is not improbable, but that though the *supper was ended*, and the *eating over*; yet the *Table was not removed*, nor the *Disciples gone from it*, when our *Lord* arose to wash their Feet, and then *instituted the Eucharist*. For though he would not intermingle or confound the *Old and New Sacrament*, by introducing his own, until that of *Moses* was punctually observed, and the solemnity quite *finished*, yet it was his mind to let the *one* immediately succeed the *other*, as the *Antitype* of the *Passover*, and the *substance* of all those Rites he had just now used, but voided for

(g) οἱ δὲ δὲ ἐδόντες, &c. (h) καὶ ἦσαν οἱ φάγοντες—Chap. 6. 44. (i) *Post cœnam sed mensa nondum remota*—Gerhard, Estius, Hammond, Assembly, Calvin.

the future. (k) It may be added from *Epiphanius*, that in point of *Conveniency* the Table was not cleared, because his time was short, and the *Bread* and *Wine* necessary for *that* Supper, he was going to begin, as the most proper things he could propose for the *signs* of his *Body* and *Blood*, the *Sacrament* being intended for the *strengthening and refreshing* of our *Souls* by the *Body and Blood of Christ*, as our *Bodies* are by the *Bread and Wine*—These *Elements* therefore being already on the Table, upon the former occasion, he took the opportunity to Consecrate and Dedicate them to a Nobler use, than they had hitherto been put to, either in the *common* or *Paschal Supper*.

This is a short, (l) and according to the current of interpreters, a likely account of the *Order* observed in those *three Suppers*, without intruding or disturbing one another, as they make 'em, who set the Bread and Cup, at a mighty distance and consider the *Bread* a part rather of the *Paschal*, and *ordinary Supper*, than a distinct, and *separate Ordinance* appointed to follow it : And all this to reconcile the *Evangelists*, who better understand one another in *that Order* I gave before.

B. The account is plausible. Yet let me offer this against it : It is said that *Judas* having received the Sop, went immediately out to execute the design of betraying his Master. Either therefore *Judas*, was not at the *Sacrament*, which is generally asserted and supposed he was ; or that Sop Christ gave him was the *Sacrament*, which I cannot admit, though it has been sometimes in practice, and is retained in the *Greek Church* to this Day to give the *Sacrament* in that or the like manner ; or else this Sop was given at the *Paschal*, to be sure before the other Supper was over, at which time,

(k) Ancorat. (l) Vid. Luc. Brugenf. in Luke-22.

according

according to Custom, the *Pater-Familiâs* or his deputy distributed the Bread, dry or dipt, to the Company.

A. Whether *Judas* received the Sacrament or no, is a Question variously decided by learned Men, who giving an Answer to it, directly and plainly contradict one another. (m) *Hilary* saith, *The New Passover was instituted without him, as unworthy the Participation of the Eternal Sacrament.* When, in *Judas's* absence, he had delivered, to us the mysteries of his precious Body and Blood, (n) saith *Clement*, he went out to the Mount of Olives——(o) Some may think *Judas* was there, but if we search diligently, what the Evangelists and Doctors say, you will perceive, he was not present at the Holy Sacrament. It appears, cries (p) *Innocent 3.* That *Judas* went forth before our Lord gave the Sacrament to his Disciples.——*Tatianus* and *Ammonius* place it after his departure. And some do make *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* of the same Opinion, but his words are obscure. However 'tis certain his interpreter and Scholiast affirm, that the Sacrament was Administred after *Judas* was gone. Of the *Romanists* *Turrianus*, *Barradius* and *Salmeron*: And among *Protestants* *Daneus* and *Musculus* say the same thing:—— And in my mind, *Judas* was not at that Supper, are the words of *Piscator* (q).

On the other side, (r) *St. Cyprian* speaks thus: As soon as he [*Judas*] had touched the holy food, and the Consecrated Bread put into his Mouth, the perfidious Wretch, not able to bear the Powerful Operation of the holy Sacrament, like Chaff blown away by some sudden and impetuous Wind, in a precipitate manner, he got out of the House and ran to execute his Treason.

(m) In Matth. (n) Constit. l. 5. (o) Rupert. in Joh. (p) De myster. Missæ. (q) In Matth. 26. 26 (r) De Cœn. Dom. Because

Because Judas drank of the same Cup with his Fellow Disciples, shall he therefore lay claim to the same worthiness? It is (s) St. Jerom's question; and that he meant the Sacramental Cup, appears from what goes before, where he calls it the Blood of the Lord, and the Blood of Christ.

(t) *St. Augustine disputing against the Donatists, who objected to the Catholics, That they could be no true Church, because they wanted Excommunication, makes Answer, that the charge was false, because they had both that, and other instances of discipline; and likewise used it, when there was no danger of a Schism: But otherwise he thought it better to let it alone. And he produces in his behalf the Authority of St. Cyprian; who in his Sermon [De Lapsis] complains, that there were Bishops in his time, so unchristian, as to talk of nothing else but new purchases, even while the Poor were starving; and to grow rich on a sudden, they did not stick at any extortion or fraud. Yet that Father durst not hazard a separation, nor unchurch Carthage for not Excommunicating them. On this occasion he introduces the Parable of the Tares, which Christ would by no means suffer to be plucked up, for fear of pulling up the Wheat with 'em. And to press home the Argument of Tendernefs and Charity between Men, in this and the like cases, he proposes the example of Christ, who bore with Judas, and let him Communicate with his Fellow Disciples, although he knew him to be a Devil.*

Leo, in one of his Sermons about the Passion, Accosts Judas in this Language, How canst thou disturbst his goodness, who did not thrust thee back, when he gave thee the Communion of his Body and Blood?

(s) Adv. Jov. (t) Vid Aug. adv. Fulg. Ep. 162. in Pf. Tract. in Joh.

And elsewhere, *Even Judas was not removed from the Mysterious Eucharist, to show, that no Provocation or injury done him, but purely his own malice tempted him to the Sin.*

(u) *Oh! The blindness of this Traitor, who though a partaker of the ineffable mysteries, continued the same Wretch; and when he had been a Guest at the Holy Table was so far from amendment, that he became a much worse Man. And again, Oh! The clemency of Christ! Oh the madness of Judas! Judas Bargains to sell Christ to the Jews for Thirty pieces of Silver, and Christ offers Judas that very Blood which he had thus sold, to be a means to obtain Pardon for his Sin, if he would be wicked no longer. Thus St. Chrysostom. And without troubling you with their words, Bernard, Haymo, Remigius, Theodoret, Euthymius, and of the School-Men, Lombard, Aquinas, & reliqui fere omnes, as also Baronius, Bellarmine, Pererius, Jansenius, Maldonate, A Lapide, with Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Et ex nostris qui aliter sentiat nemo mihi notus, saith Gerhard, for himself and Country-men — Whitaker, Lightfoot, Hamond, Stillingfleet, and others who all affirm Judas to be a Communicant, injoying all the Privileges of other Disciples, and this on purpose to aggravate his Crime, that though there was no partiality on Christ's side to provoke him to it, yet he still went on to contrive and execute that villainous design.*

B. *It is an unequal match, as you have muster'd the Men. Yet it must be confest, the Evangelists have delivered this part of their History, with so much perplexity that there is Colour enough on both sides, to justify their Opinion.*

(u) *Horn. in Matth. & de Procl. Jud.*

A. The ground the first go on is this. Christ tells his Disciples, (w) *I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, until that day I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom*——from whence they argue, that those to whom he gave his Body and Blood, were to drink again with him after his Resurrection, which is meant by his Father's Kingdom. But Judas did not then drink with them, nor could, because he hang'd himself before his Master died, therefore neither did he partake of the holy Communion. Besides it cannot be supposed, but whatever Doctrine our Lord taught, he who is said to fulfil all Righteousness, observed it to a tittle in his own Person. Because then it was his directions, (x) *not to give that which is holy unto Dogs, nor cast Pearls before swine.*——He knowing Judas to be a Traitor, 'tis not credible he would vouchsafe him his Body and Blood, and so by his example, invite us to that which in his Doctrine he forbid us to do. St. Paul, who without doubt well understood the mind of his Master, requires Timothy not to be a partaker of other Mens Sins.—But knowingly and willingly to admit a Sinner, as in this case, to the holy Communion, may it not be construed into a partaking of his Sin, and letting him eat and drink his Damnation?

To which the others make Answer. That in the words of their first reason there is a Synecdoche; and the promise of Christ to drink with his Disciples in his Father's Kingdom (however understood) ought to be taken as that other is where he saith, (y) that when the Son of Man shall sit in the Throne of his Glory, then shall ye also sit on twelve Thrones, Judging the twelve Tribes of Israel——meaning them in general, and as they were a Col-

(w) Matth 26. 29. (x) Matth. 7. 6. (y) Matth. 19. 28.

lege, not every *individual* Person, because it is evident *Judas* was not to be one of these *Judges*, and yet the words infer it, if rigorously taken, and with respect to each of those to whom he spake 'em. He did not say, that *after his rising*, he would drink with (z) *all of 'em*, but *with them*, or with such of 'em as did not put themselves out of a Capacity to do it, as *Judas* did both by his *Treason* and *violent Dying*. As to the second Argument. 'Tis readily owned, that we are not to *encourage Wick- edness*, nor partake with ill Men in any of their Follies, and where a Sin is *notorious*, we dare not admit the *guilty* party to the Holy Communion. *St. Chrysostom's* Resolution in this point was, that *rather than suffer a flagitious Man to eat and drink at the Holy Table* (if he knew him such) *he would be torn to pieces*. And speaking to the Clergy at *Antioch*, he saith, that *if they did not put by offenders, it would be as heavily revenged on them, as if themselves had shed Christ's Blood*. (a) *St. Augustine* was very wary, and therefore always earnestly per- swaded his People at *Hippo*, to *examine their Consci- ences*, and if they found themselves guilty of such Crimes as rendered them unfit for the Sacrament, he wishes 'em to *withdraw*, till by *Prayer, Fasting and Alms* they had qualified themselves for it. But the most remark- able instance in this kind, and a very exemplary Care and Courage, is that of (b) *St. Ambrose*, who hearing that the *Emperour Theodosius*, after the slaughter of 7000 Men at *Theffalonica*, without any legal Process, was coming to *Milain* where he was *Bishop*, and to the Church where he was present, the Father meets him at the Door and forbids him

(z) *Gerhard Harm. Evang.* (a) *In anniversario Dedicati- onis Eccl. vel Altaris, Serm. 1. de Temp. 152.* (b) *Theodo- ret, Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 17, 18.*

entrance ; and though the Prince sent *Ruffinus* to the Bishop to intercede for him, and came afterwards in Person with all the *humility* and concern imaginable, yet he persisted in his repulse and would not admit him, till by a publick instrument or *Edict* he declared to all the World his repentance for what was done.

Such was the Religion of those times, such the Prelates of the Church and such its Princes, who in the cause of God were not unwilling to submit their Crowns to the Mitre, and think it no shame to retract an Error, as soon as the honest Preacher told 'em of it. Methinks I can never enough admire the boldness of St. *Ambrose*, but the sorrow of *Theodosius* charms me more. Hear what *Theodore* saith of him. Upon the Bishops refusing him entrance into the Church, he returned to the Palace sighing and weeping — and there sat down lamenting himself, and pouring down a shower of Tears — groaning, wailing and reflecting on his miserable case — and going to the Archbishop in a dejected manner vehemently and earnestly begs Absolution. Which being at length obtained, and admitted to come to the Church and Communion, attempting to go within the rail at the Altar, (as he was wont to do at Constantinople) the Bishop stop'd him and order'd him to stand without, for, saith he, the purple makes Emperours but not Priests, and this is the place for them. Whereupon the good Prince withdrew and stood without the rail ; and was so far from taking it ill, that at his return home, he reformed this indulgence and said, I know *Ambrose*, who alone deserves to be called a Bishop. — And having borrow'd so much of the Historian, let me add further, that so great vertue shining in the Prince and Bishop, I cannot but admire Both. Him for his Liberty of Speech, and the other for his Submission, St. *Ambrose's* Zeal, and *Theodosius's* Faith.

You will excuse me for being so long on this *Example*, wherein you see the *vigilancy* of the *Church*, not to admit those (though of greatest quality), who themselves put a Bar in the way by some open and scandalous Sin. And if *Ministers* now a Days, have not Courage answerable to the Dignity of their Office, let *them* be blamed and not their *Ministry*. I must confess they stand too much in awe of every Body above 'em, and seem to forget God who is above all, and from whom they have their *Commission*; a *Commission* to reprove and *censure Men*. But they have St. *Ambrose* for a precedent, whom an *Imperial Crown* did not dazzle, or *Sceptre* terrify to make him cool in a matter of Religion. No, the sight of the *Emperour* did rather improve the *Idea* of the *King of Kings and Lord of Lords*, *Theodosius's* Sovereign and his *Master*. Their *Commissions* were both from Heaven. And as it might have cost the *Bishop* his Life, had he meddled in matters belonging to the *Emperour*; so 'tis reported of *Theodosius*, that (c) *He knew very well what appertain'd to the Priest, and what to the Prince*. And in Spiritual affairs, he durst not so much hazard his own Soul, as to exceed his *Commission*, and intrude on the *others*. He would not contend with the *Priest*, for fear of God who made him so.

I believe not *many Princes* in the World would bear this usage, though *all* in this and the like case should patiently do it. Less *Zeal* than this of St. *Ambrose*, might tempt them in Power, to pull any *Bishop's Mitre* from his *Head*, and tear his *Body* from the *Altar*, though the meaning of such reproof is not, thereby to bring the *Prince* into contempt, but to put him in mind of the reverence he owes his *Maker*. And truly, the greatest poten-

(c) ἡδεὶ σαφῶς τίνα μὲν τῷ ἱερέϊ, τίνα δὲ τῷ Βασιλεῖ ἴδια.
Theodoret supra.

tate on Earth, should consider it an instance of the highest policy to teach their Subjects *obedience to themselves*, by their *own* obedience to *God*. Otherwise what security can Governours have, unless it be in the *Consciences* of those under 'em, and how shall that point be gain'd without the Power of *Religion*? Which if the *People* find *they* have no regard for, they will quickly follow such an *Example*; and growing by degrees as *loose* as themselves, in words and behaviour, *they* may at last be tempted to do by their *Rulers*, as those *Rulers* do by *their God* to whom *they* have solemnly sworn Allegiance, and who by such hands often dethrones them.

But as we find in *St. Ambrose*, an excellent *Prelate*, so we have in *Theodosius* an Admirable *Emperour*. A great Prince he was, because he would not be wedded to his humour and fancy. He was guilty of *Passion*, but he will not be a *slave* to it. *Passion*, another word for *weakness*, which he blush'd at and wept for, as soon as it was represented to him. On that occasion we have his *Tears*, *Humiliations*, *agonies of Spirit*, in the *Palace*, on the *Church Floor*, and at the *Altar*. Certainly he deserved to govern the World, that grieved thus for his *Infirmities*; and considering he took so much pains to get the mastery of himself for his *own Good*, it was reasonable to expect he would govern his *People* to no other end, than to do *God* *honour* and make *them Happy*.

Well; to say no more of him, the drift of all this, is to show, what a Man is to do to reconcile himself to God upon the Commission of Sin; which if not done, the party offending ought not to come, nor the *Minister* to admit him to the holy Communion. Yet this concludes nothing against what *Christ* did to *Judas*; and his suffering that *Disciple* to partake of the *Sacrament*, doth not in the least prejudice the foregoing Doctrine.

For as St. *Augustine* sets the Rule, we are to de-
bar no Christian this Privilege, until by his own Confes-
sion or the sentence of the Court he forfeits, and deprives
himself of it. For (d) Presumptions are no evidence; and
though we may think we have reason to suppose an ill
Man, yet that suspicion doth not make him so. Judas
was a Devil, and Christ knew him to be such, yet it
was a secret to his fellow-Disciples; and though
Christ (e) as God knew this, yet hitherto there
was no open overt act or Testimony of his malice,
or plain evidence to scandalize his Brethren. And
therefore our Lord himself considered, as a Priest
or Minister of holy Things, not understanding
Judas's design, let him also take the Sacrament,
(f) in order to leave us, an example and warrant
to do the same. Because therefore St. *Matthew*
and St. *Mark*, declare that Christ sat down with
the twelve—or with all the Disciples without ex-
ception; and it being taken for granted, that at
this time the Sacrament was instituted, it is con-
cluded against the Objections before mentioned,
that Judas did receive at the Holy Communion (g),
though because of his Crime, it was without be-
nefit.

Yet, though it passes among most, that Judas
took the Sacrament, it cannot be supposed, that
the *Sop* meant it; because though it was and is the
practice of some Churches, to moisten the Bread
in the Administration of the Sacrament, yet in
the Opinion of the most judicious, it ought to be
dry for decency and signification sake, as better re-
presenting the Body of Christ distinct from the
Blood. Yet the Greek word [*ψαλίσον*] is rather in
the abstract, and signifies no more than the broken

(d) Beza de Presbyt. (e) P. Mart. Loc. Com. cl. 4. c. 5.
n 13. (f) Tho. P. 3. Q. 81. (g) Reliqui panem dominum,
manducavunt, Judas panem domini—Aug. in Joh.

piece of a Loaf, a (b) fragment or morsel of Bread; and so the Eastern Translations render it, [*Panis*, or] a bit of dry Bread. However, finding it said, (i) *To whom I shall give a piece of Bread, when I have dipped it* — the translation is good, to contract the Periphrasis, and call it *Sop* or a bit of Bread moist'ned, or dipt in the Sauce or Wine.

But whether *wet* or *dry*, it affords no room for your inference, namely, That this must be either *at* or *presently after* the *Paschal Supper*, and *before* the conclusion of the *other*. Because, though both *Suppers* were over, yet neither was the *Table* nor the *Dishes* removed, (k) the Lord designing to make use of the *remainder* of the Bread and Wine, without losing time or causing a new Trouble to fetch more. And as for the *Pater-Familiâs*, his distributing Bread to the guests, this was done, not only *at*, but *after Supper*, to signify the Charity, which ought to be among them, and this was the meaning of the *Agapæ*, afterwards in the *Christian Church*, to answer the *post-cœnium* among the *Jews*, and was continued many Years after the Communion, till several abuses attending these Feasts, made our Fathers think it convenient to lay them aside.

B. *Tertullian* I think, gives us a very fair account of them, and shows the Nature of 'em by their (l) *Name*.

A. So doth (m) *St. Chrysostom*, and calls 'em testimonies of Love, the comforts of Poverty, the subject of the best Philosophy, the Doctrine of humility, &c. — yet he complains, that, in his time, this good Custom began to decay, although, not above

(b) τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποθραυσμένου, Hesych. (i) John 13. 26. (k) A Lap. in Joh. 13. Gerhard Harm. Evang. c. 171. (l) *Cœna nostra* — vocatur *Agapæ*, id quod dilectio penes Græcos est. Tert. Apol & ad Uxor. (m) Hom. in 1 Cor. 11.

sixty Years before, the Council (n) of *Gangra*, excommunicated such as slighted 'em, being intended for God's Honour and the relief of the necessitous. And indeed for some time they answered their Name, in promoting Charity and feeding the Poor. Nothing *obscene* or immodest was heard or seen at 'em. Before Christians sat down to Table, they bestow'd some time on *Prayer*. Then they did eat as much as was Convenient, and drank as became sober People; and in both they remembred, that *these Nights* were set apart for *Prayer* and *Watching*. Their *Discourse* was such as became Men, who were perswaded that *God* heard 'em. After they had *Wash'd*, they challenged one another to Sing *Hymns*, to the Honour of God, either of their own composing, or out of the Book of *Psalms*. Which being over and the Table clear'd, they went again to *Prayer*, and so departed, (o) but not till they had taken some care of their indigent Brethren in sending them *Fruits*, *Meat*, or *Money*, as every Man was able. But the Scene being changed, and these Feasts made the opportunities of diverse *irregularities*, the Council of (p) *Laodicea* first, and afterwards that in (q) *Trullo* expelled 'em the *Churches*. Let 'em not on the *Lord's-day* or in the *Church* make those Feasts they call *Agapæ* — and they who presume to do so, let 'em either *forbear* or be *excluded*, i. e. excommunicated. (r) And so the third Council of *Carthage*, forbids *Bishops* and *Clergy-men*, to be present at these Feasts, and hinder the People as much as they could, *Strangers* and *Travellers* excepted, who perhaps otherwise could not be provided for. *St. Augustine* was at this Council, and no doubt gave his Vote to

(n) Can 11. apud Caranz. A. D. 324. (o) *Agapæ nostræ pauperes pascunt, sci. frugibus, carnibus* — Aug. adv. Fructum — (p) Can. 28. (q) Can. 74. (r) Can. 45. dismiss

dismiss 'em, herein following the Judgment of his Master St. *Ambrose*, by whose means *Africa* was rid of 'em, and in a little time most *Churches* removed them into *Private-houses*.

But to return to the *Paschal Supper*; some *Bread* and [*Embamma* or] *sweet sauce* then in use, being still on the Table, as soon as *Christ* had ended the Sacrament, his Agony began: And being much troubled in Spirit, he tells his Disciples, that one of them should betray him. Hereupon with great surprize and astonishment they look'd one on another, doubting of whom he spake; and being very desirous to know who it was, *Simon Peter* beckon'd to *John*, who sat next his Master, to ask his Name. *John* accordingly *Whispers* him; and *Christ* as privately Answers, (s) *It is he to whom I am going to give a Sop*, — which in a few moments after he reach'd to *Judas*, as the most secret way to discover him. For had he immediately named him, *John* had not forbore looking on the Traitor, and such a look had publish'd the secret, as much as if he had pointed at him. Whereas by this means, *Christ* Answer'd the Question of his beloved Disciple, and the rest never the wiser, who though they saw the *Sop* given, yet did not put that interpretation on it, but supposed it the effect of an *Old Custom* without special Application.

B. But what need so much *industry* and *care* to conceal *Judas*, when *Christ* himself (upon the Question put by all the Disciples, and by *Judas* among the rest, *Is it I?*) Answered, *Thou sayest*, or, *It is as thou hast said*: An expression plain enough to let the Company know that he was the Traitor.

(r) John 13. 21, 22, 24, 26:

A. We find the *Evangelists* very much differing in the *Order* of this report. Some place it *before* the *Sacramental Supper* and some *after* it: (t) Particularly St. *Luke* having given on account of the *Institution*, and *Administration* of the *Eucharist*, subjoins immediately, *but behold the hand of him who betrayeth me, is with me on the Table* — To reconcile the Holy Writers, *Jansenius* will have the *first* to speak by a *Prolepsis*, whereby they Anticipate or prevent the Declaration of *Christ*, and represent it *already said*, what was to be *afterwards said* when the *Sacrament* was *over*. Because had this Passage fallen out *before*, it had caused a great disturbance among the *Disciples*, and by that means rendred 'em, at those minutes, incapable to *receive*. (u) *Baronius's* Opinion is quite contrary to this, and he conceives the words uttered *before* the *Sacrament*, supposing St. *Luke* to *post-pone* the account, and set it *after* the *Supper*, when according to the other *Evangelists*, it should have gone *before* it. But likely it is, that this complaint of *Christ*, or prediction of *Judas's* Treason, was (w) *twice* given at the *Table*, our gracious *Lord* taking all opportunities both to *prepare* his *Disciples*, and *bring* *Judas* to *reflect* on his *Crime*, and the villainy he was contriving against him. Once when he had the *Sop*, after which he went to confer with the *Priests* about the *Terms* or price of his *Treason*, and again, at the conclusion of the *Sacramental Supper*, when he impudently ask'd his Master, *Is it I?* And when our *Lord's* Answer was forced to publish what the delivery of the *Sop* concealed before, and kept it a secret from all but *John*, enraged at the discovery, he leaves the

(t) Luk. 22. 21. (u) Ad ann. 34. (w) A Lap. in Matth. 26. and John 13.

Room, and runs to his *Chapmen*, to put in execution what they had agreed on.

This will more fully appear, if we can learn that *St. John's Supper*, which just now I spake of, and where these words concerning betraying Christ were said, is *not the same* with that *Supper*, which the other *Evangelists* treat of, and where they represent the *same words* spoken, as I think it will be no very hard task to do.

You must know then, that though I have hitherto walked in the beaten way, and followed a multitude of Authors in explaining this Passage of the Gospel; yet I cannot say I am satisfied with it. Nor do they perswade me to accept *St John's Supper*, after which *Christ Washed* the Disciples Feet, and gave *Judas* the Sop, for the *Paschal Supper*, after which he was pleased to institute the Sacrament.

It is indeed represented thus. That upon the first day of the Feast of Unleavened-bread, the Disciples came to Jesus, saying, (x) *where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to Eat the Passover? And he said, go into the City, &c.* — And when they had provided, he came to the place, and sate down with the Twelve. In this all the Evangelists agree, that those words were said, and the thing done on the Day of the Passover. At the Evening of this Day, according to *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark*, while they were at Table, *Jesus began to be very sorrowful, and said unto his Disciples, one of you shall betray me.* And when it was demanded who the Traitor was, he Answers, *he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish* (as 'tis supposed *Judas* did at that moment) *the same shall betray me.* All which agreeing with what *St John* saith in his

(x) Matth. 26. 17.

Gospel, (y) where the *same* expressions are found, it is concluded that in all these places of Scripture it must needs be *one* and the *same* Supper.

But if we look carefully into what St. John hath written, we shall perceive it quite *otherwise*. For although it is said by this Author, that *Supper being ended*, he arose and washed his Disciples Feet, and having done so, *sate down again*, and instructed them in the use and moral of that action (which was, to teach 'em humility, and since he their Lord and Master washed their Feet, they ought also to wash one anothers Feet) the discourse being finished, *he was troubled in Spirit and testified, saying, one of you shall betray me*; and John asking him who it was, that should do this wicked thing, (z) he told him in his *Ear*, that it was *he to whom he should give a Sop*, and he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the Son of Simon. Though, I say, all this was said and done *at or after Supper*, yet *this Supper* could not be the *Paschal*, because the Chapter begins thus, *now before the Feast of the Passover—so that 'twas before the Feast*, before the Lamb was eaten, nay, before the *Day* was come. And in all probability *this Supper* was at *Bethany*, and not at *Jerusalem*, though he went thither from *Bethany*, two days after to eat the *Passover*.

The Circumstances of the story warrant this conjecture. For first, after *Judas* had taken the *Sop*, *Jesus* said unto him, *that thou doest do quickly*. Now no Man at the Table knew for what intent he spake this unto him, for some of 'em thought, because *Judas* had the Bag, that *Jesus* said unto him, *buy those things we have need of against the Feast*, or that he should give somewhat to the Poor. What absurdities

(y) John 13. 21. (z) *Admover Johannes—ut sibi in aurem indicaretur proditor—* Piscator in Joh. 13. 25.

must Men run themselves into to reconcile this to the *Passover*? For how could it enter into the Disciples minds, that their *Master* meant either that *Judas* should give something to the *Poor*, or provide necessaries for the *Feast*, if it had not been such a time, wherein the *Poor* might have been found or the *Markets* furnish'd with goods upon this occasion? But on the *Day* of the *Passover* it was ridiculous to seek for either; because the *Poor* as well as *Rich* observed strictly this solemn time, and were, under penalties, obliged to it, either at their own or their *Neighbours Table*: So that there was no likelihood of finding them at their *stands* or places where they were wont to beg relief, being this *Night* well provided for without it: But if not, it was very dangerous to be found abroad transgressing the *Law* in that open manner. Then as for the *Market*, could such a thing be expected on that solemn *Day*, on the *Night* of that *Day*? And is it reasonable to believe the *Jews* would be so giddy and unfurnished, nay, so irreverent as to rise from the *Paschal-Table* to go to such a *Market*? No, if the *Peasants*, or *Country People* had show'd themselves negligent, and cool in the Performances of Religion by resorting to the *City*, and bringing their *Wares* with 'em, yet the zeal and rigour of the *Priests* had never endured it. They would have severely punished such Offenders, and made both *Buyers* and *Sellers* pay very dear for this contempt of the *Passover*. But indeed the Text expressly saith, that the Disciples supposed their Master bid *Judas* to buy those necessaries against or for the *Feast*. And therefore the *Feast* was not yet come; for it is unseasonably said, provide for such a *Day*, when the *Day* is already gone. And this agrees with the first verse of the Chapter, before the *Passover*; for it was proper enough at a *Day* or two's distance to give such instructions for the procuring

procuring of things Customarily used by 'em on that occasion.

But you will say, the *Disciples* were mistaken in the words of their Master, who intended no such Provision, but only bid *Judas* be quick and hasten what he had contrived against him. And without doubt, this was our *Lord's* meaning; and to this end *Judas*, after the *Sop* went out with impatience, and eagerness to consult with the *Jews* about the reward and manner of betraying him. However, this could not be done in that hurry; the Method which the holy Pen-men represent him taking was a Work of time. For St. *Matthew* tells us, [Chap. 26. v. 14.] *He went out to the chief Priests.* St. *Luke* goes further [22. 4.] *He communed with the Captains.* St. *Mark* adds, [Chap. 14. v. 43.] that the *Sanhedrim*, or whole Consistory were applied to, the *Chief Priests, Scribes and Elders.* — How is it possible for *Judas* to do all this *that Evening* of the Passover, seeing, as St. *John* saith, 'twas *Night* before he left his Master? Were the Chief-Priests, Scribes, and Elders all *at Supper in one house*, that he did so readily meet 'em? This could not be, because the *Law* required 'em to be at *Home*, every Master *this Night* with his *Family*, for the more punctual celebration of the Festival. But had *they* been together, how came the *Captains* to be in their Company? Did these *Romans* Sup with 'em too? No, that was an *Abomination* to the *Jews*, to admit such *Aliens* to this Sacred Supper. Did *Judas* go from House to House, to summon them to the Hall or Council-Chamber? Let a Man consider the time for this, which did not consist of many hours between *Judas's* Departure, and *Christ's* going to the *Garden*, where he had not long been, before that Disciple came to apprehend him. It is not an easie matter to bring Persons of that figure
and

and so many of 'em into one place. And when assembled, the *debate* must be serious and long, because it was a case of Blood, and his Blood whom the *People* respected, and they feared to put the *People* in an Uproar. The *manner* therefore of seizing him with safety to themselves; the *Proposals* and *Conditions* of this piece of Service, and *what* they were to give the Traitor for discovering, and delivering him into their hands and the like, could all this be done *that Evening*? 'Tis hard to think it. Yet all this and more must be granted, and supposed done in those few minutes (as we may call 'em) between *Judas's* rising from the Supper, and his meeting Christ at *Gethsemane*.

Besides, we may observe that after the promise, and bargain made by the Chief-Priests to give him thirty Pieces of Silver, *from that time* Judas sought an opportunity to betray him——he sought an opportunity; but in the Evening of the Passover he had it. And therefore the Natural sence of the words is, That *before* this opportunity he sought for others; but till this hour he could find none proper to betray him in, and hereupon it follows in the next words, *now the first day of the Feast of unleaven'd Bread*——or in other terms, *after this consultation*, after so much *deliberation* and *contrivance*, of ways and means to deliver him up, began the Passover. So that apparently this fell out before, and not on the Evening of the Passover.

'Tis easie then to conceive, that *this Supper* St. John mentions, was at Bethany, at the House of Simon the Leper, and two Days before that of the Passover, as St. Matthew saith, [Chap. 26. v. 2.] You know that after two Days is the Feast of the Passover, and the Son of Man is betray'd to be Crucified——and this he might say in the present tense, as doing

ing or done [*παράδοσις*] because Judas was now gone to debate and contrive about it. Accordingly we find in the next verse, *then assembled together the Chief-priests, and Scribes, and Elders of the People, unto the Palace of the High-Priest, and consulted how they might take Jesus by subtlety, and kill him, but they said, not on the Feast-day, lest there be an Uproar among the People.* — It seems their first resolution was to seize him on the Day of the Passover, being well assured he would then be at Jerusalem. But the great concourse of People *that Day* in and about the Temple, made it hazardous to lay hold on him in that *open manner*. But then the expression signifies that the Feast was *not come*, because designs look *forward*, and their intending to do it on *that Day*, was an intimation, that the Day as yet was not in being.

Allowing therefore *this Supper* to be two Evenings before, we may frame the History after this Manner. While Christ was at the House of Simon the Leper, *two Days* before the Passover, as he there sate at meat, there came a Woman having an Alabaster-Box of Oyntment, of *Spike-nard* very precious, and she brake the Box and poured it on his Head. The Disciples seeing this profuseness, as they thought it, had indignation and said, *To what purpose is this wast?* Particularly Judas Iscariot, Simon's Son, who was to betray him, saith, *Why was not this Oyntment sold for three hundred Pence, and given to the Poor?* Jesus excusing the Woman, and declaring it a *good work* done by her, and such as should be recorded to her honour, Judas grew more Angry, and took a prejudice against his Master for this Declaration, and Satan was active enough to improve any ill motion in him. Before Supper was quite over, Jesus arose and washed the Disciples Feet, and sitting down again, out of the sense he had of the wild Thoughts

Thoughts, which began to be tumultuous in the villains Heart, which neither his Masters gracious countenance, nor late condescension could in the least melt, unwilling yet that he should be lost for want of warning, he enters on a discourse concerning one of the Company's betraying him, to the end, that by this *private hint Judas* might be alarm'd, and being at once informed of his own guilt and his Lord's Omniscience, he might be brought to recollect himself and repent before it was too late. But nothing will do; as soon as the Sop was eaten, (which had in shew some particular Mark of Christ's Favour, but was withal a *Testimony* of his black attempt, and a means to shew John who the party was that would be guilty of the treason) out he goes, though dark, gets to the *Priests* and *Captains*, sells his Master for thirty pieces of Silver, then returns back to *Bethany* to see how Christ would bestow himself on the Day of the Feast, goes with him to *Jerusalem*, continues with *all him Day*, eats with him in the *Evening* both *Passover* and *Sacrament*; and finding by his discourse that he was to pass over *Cedron* to *Gethsemane* (a little Village at the foot of mount *Olivet*, where there was a Garden to which Christ for privacy-sake frequently resorted) thither he comes with a band of Men; apprehends *Jesus*, carries him first to the *High-Priest*, then to *Pilate* the *Roman* Deputy who examined, scourged, condemned and crucified him.

BUT to return from this digression and consider, the *Passover* in those instances wherein our Sacrament refers to it. We see the *Bread* was divided into several Morfels, and that the *Cup* was used in both Suppers, and in both called the *Cup of Blessing*. As soon as the Master of the Family had eaten, he said, *I will eat no more this Night* — and so Christ, *I will not eat any more thereof, until it be fulfilled in the*

Kingdom of God——The *Pater-Familiâs* when he had drunk, adds, *This Night I will drink no more*— and our Lord makes the same Declaration, *I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come.* The *Pater-Familiâs* lift up the *Bread*, and told the Company what it meant: So Christ took the *Bread* and holding it up, said, *This is my Body*——so his Body, as the unleaven'd Bread in the *Pater-Familiâs* hand, was that which the Fathers did eat when they left *Ægypt*, i. e. the one was a *Symbole* or representation, and so was the other, yet neither of 'em to be *strictly* but *Sacramentally* taken; And in both the whole action, is called, *Haggada*, for so the *Jews* stile the *Passover*, as St. Paul doth the *Sacrament*, wherein we do shew forth the *Lord's Death* till he come. And when all this was finished, the *Jews* Sung an *Hymn*, as Christ and his Disciples did, *And when they had Sung an Hymn they went out into the mount of Olives*, Matth. 26. 30.

And now to clear your Objections. First, The *Pater-Familiâs* divided the *Bread*, and gave a piece of it to each of the guests; and it is not to be much questioned, but as in the other particulars, so in this Christ conformed to what was usually done, giving each Disciple (2) a Portion out of his hand into theirs, as did the *Pater-Familiâs* at the *Passover*. Nor doth the word [*take*] deny it; for a thing is as properly reach'd from another's hand, as from a *Dish* or *Patin*. Nor doth the *Ministers* delivering either the *Bread* or *Cup*, offer the least violence to the *Communicants* taking it, any more than at *common Meals*, where the *Master* or *Mistress* of the House Carves for the Company,

(x) Vid. Muscul. de coen. dom. Bicer. & Camer. in Matth. 26. Beza in eundem loc. *Per partes & singulis distribuit—figillatim & ordine discumbentibus.*——

without any prejudice to the *Freedom* of the Table, and the *guests* do not think themselves the less welcome, because they are sav'd that trouble. Christ said, *Take, Eat* — The *Minister* uses the very *same words*; and if this be said and done *severally*, and in a particular manner, it has the example of the *Jews* in the like case; and moreover 'tis apt to make a deeper impression on every Man's Heart, when he hears the words distinctly and directly pronounced to him.

And that this was the practice of the Ancient Churches, we find by (c) *Tertullian*, and (d) *Justin Martyr*, who declared it the Office of such Clergy, as presided in the Church, to distribute to each Man present the Bread and Wine at the Sacrament. And in that passage between *Theodosius* and St. *Ambrose*, (of which you had a large account) the Bishop asks the *Emperour*, how he could reach out his hand to receive Christ's Body and Blood — i. e. receive the Elements from the Ministers hand; for otherwise it was impossible to take the Bread and the Cup, all the Communicants being without the rail, and at a great distance from the Table.

As to your other Exception, that the Sacrament was Originally administred to the Communicants sitting, because the Evangelists say, *he sate down with the twelve*, and *as they sate and did eat* — you remember what was said, that the *Jewish-Supper* at the Passover consisted of two Courses or parts, the *Sacramental*, and the *Vulgar*, besides, this of our Lord which made 'em three. It is not therefore unreasonable to think, that as the Suppers differ'd, so might the gestures: And whereas the first was Religious, and the other common, this might be eaten with discumbency or sitting, and the for-

(c) De coron. mil. (d) Apolog.

mer more reverently *standing*. And thus St. Chrysostom expounds those Places ; for having asked the Question, whether indeed Christ and his Disciples did eat the Passover, and how they came to eat it contrary to Law, because by Law they were not to eat it *sitting* or *lying*, he answers thus, *after they had eaten the Passover standing, they sate down to Supper.* — The same scruple, and the same resolution Theophylact makes, that they finished the Legal part *standing*, and then they *sate down*. The Law in this point referr'd to, is *Exod. 12. 11. Thus shall you eat it [the Passover] with your Loins girded, your Shooes on your Feet, and your Staff in your Hand, and you shall eat it in haste.* Here is indeed no mention of *standing* (e) but the circumstances of the Text prove it, for they were to eat *in haste*, and so no leisure for discumbency or *sitting* ; they were to *gird themselves*, as Men ready to depart, loose Garments being for ease, and repose, but unfit for Work or a Journey ; they were to have on *their Sandals*, or Shooes which they always put off while they lay on their *Beds or Couches*, because otherwise they had dirted or defiled them : And therefore we may observe, that the Angel intending to lead St. Peter out of Prison, bid him first *gird himself and bind on his Sandals.* *Acts 12. 8.* Neither can we well conceive 'em in any other gesture, while they held their *Staves* in their hands, which were a conveniency and support in a *Journey*, but very cumberfom and improper, when they were eating and drinking at *Table*. The words of St. Paul confirm this Habit of Body, where he alludes to this Custom among

(e) *Quorsum enim baculos tenentes manibus, succincti umbes & calceati, si non ad iter expediti stabant.* A Lap. in *Exod 12.*

the Jews, (f) *Stand therefore having your Loins girt about with truth, and your Feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel*—— Borrowing his phrase from the Ceremonies used at the eating of the Passover, and beginning with *standing* as a fit posture to show a Man to be upon his *Guard*, and in a readiness to *Fight* or *Travel*; which the Apostle applying to his *Christian*, he exhorts him to do the same. (g) *Philo* the Learned Jew, and out of him *Pererius* understands this to be the gesture of the Jews at that Supper. *Arius Montanus* reports it so from the old *Rabbins*, (h) and *Euthymius* takes it for granted, and supposes that from hence Christ and his Disciples did eat in that Manner. And of this Opinion are *Maldonate*, *Lucas Brugensis*, *Alapide*, (i) *Beza*, (k) *Gerbard* and many others. Because then the Law about the Passover required *standing*, and was accordingly the practice of the *Rabbins*, and other Jews to eat it in that manner, it cannot be well suspected, that Christ and his Disciples would break that Law, and not eat this Passover, much more his own in that form; Though as to the ordinary Supper, it may be well enough said, that he sate or lay down to eat, as more conducive to ease and pleasure.

Now *standing* was a praying-gesture, as appears from (l) Scripture, *Abraham stood before the Lord*, (m) i. e. he stood in Prayer. And the Publican stood afar off and pray'd——And it is a proverbial saying among the Hebrews, that (n) *without Prayers made standing, the World would fall*——and

(f) Eph. 6. 14, 15. (g) De Sacrif. Cain & Abel. (h) In Matth. 26. (i) In Matth. (k) Harm. c. 169. *non sedentes, sed stantes—a stantibus—stantes manducârunt Pascha*—— (l) Gen. 18. 22. 1 Chro. 23. 30. Nehem. 9. 5. Rev. 7. 9. 10. (m) *Stabat in Oracione*. Targ. Onkelos. (n) *Sine stantibus non subsisteret mundus*.

because in those days, and by the Custom of that People, these holy addresses to God were delivered *standing*, therefore they give out that [*Gnāmuda*] *standing* is one of the *Names of Prayer*.

And so under *Christianity* it was the way of the Church to *stand* at their Prayers every *Lord's-day*, and all the time between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, according to the twentieth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, in honour of Christ's Resurrection. *Because there are some who kneel on the Lord's-day and during Pentecoste*, (the fifty Days between Easter and Whitsunday) *That there may be uniformity in every Parish*, it seems good to the holy Synod, that People should offer up their Prayers to God *standing*. And these Prayer Days are called, *dies Stationum*, because hereon [*Stamus ad Orationem*] we stand at our Prayers, saith St. Cyprian. This usage is mention'd by (o) *Tertullian*, who accounted it an heinous matter to *fast* or *kneel* on those Days. Yet it was a bare Tradition, as (p) St. *Jerom* styles it: But such as was observed, saith *Epiphanius*, by the whole Catholick Church. And if we ask the reason why the Custom was introduced, the Answer is, that it was [*σύμβολον τῆς ἀναστάσεως*] the *Symbol of the Resurrection*, that so we may take notice as of our fall by Sin, so of our Resurrection by the Grace of Christ. (p) *Six days we pray upon our knees*, in token of our fall, but on the *Lord's-day* we bow not the knee in token of the Resurrection, by which according to the Grace of Christ we are freed from Sin, and the Power of Death——It shows, saith *Balsamon* on the Canon, that we are risen with Christ, and that now we seek those things that are above. The same reason *Zonaras* gives out of *Basil the Great*,

(o) De coron. Mil. (p) Adv. Lucifer. (q) Quæst. & Resp. ad Orthod.

telling us, that herein the Church teaches her Children to raise their Thoughts to the contemplation of that Life which will never have an end. And hence he calls the whole time an *Advertisement*, or lesson of our Resurrection to that State, and considers it as one continued Festival, or in *Balsamon's* words, *one Lord's-day*, and the *standing* on it, an *emblem* of our *rising* from the Grave to Heaven. Which is a Thought must needs create us a great deal of joy, and therefore we use a gesture answerable to it, and forbear *kneeling*, while these Days last, because such a *bowing* or *bending* is a testimony or *sign* of dejection and sorrow, inconsistent with that delight, and satisfaction every good Man is ready to entertain upon the belief and assurance he hath of his after Condition above.

It doth not clearly appear how long this Custom lasted, but we see it continued by a Decree of Pope *Alexander III.* about the Year 1160. at which time it seems it begun to decline, and is now worn out in latter Ages, the Church finding she had out-lived those *Hereticks* on whose account it commenced. And I wish there was no need now to *revive* it on the same reason.

But all I aim at, is, only to show it to be a *Religious gesture*, and of the same importance with *Kneeling*, though it had an additional signification in the first Ages of the Church, to set forth the honour of *Christ's Resurrection*, and give us an assurance of our *Own*. And this was but for *certain times* of the Year, the *remainder* being spent in a more humble way of adoration. (r) Whether

(r) *Æthiopes semper stantes non de geniculis collectæ inter-
sunt, sed die Pentecostes ingeniculant* — Arndii
Lexicon.

the Christians in *Æthiopia* are influenced by the practice and motives of the *Fathers*, is not certain, but to this Day they generally *pray after that manner*, and have *Posts or little Pillars of Wood*, made on purpose to lean against, and thereby rest themselves, while they *stand* at their Prayers, because their Liturgy is long.

And if Christ and his Disciples did this, much more doth it become us to use a gesture of *humility* and *Reverence*: And because *they stood*, we ought to *kneel*, if not, as (s) *Gorgonia* did, [*Nazienzen's Sister*] *prostrate* our selves at the Table. By this outward and visible debasement of himself, the supplicant expresses the *lowliness* of his mind. His *bended knee* bespeaks a *broken Spirit*, and while he Bows down towards the ground, in the very act he confesses himself to be Originally *Dust and Ashes*, and that it is purely owing to the Mercy of a gracious God, that from this mean beginning he has now got a better Figure. In a word, a *Zealous knee*, charitably speaking, always supposes an *affectionate-prayer*. Indeed an *humble prayer* and *kneeling* are but *two words* for the *same thing*; and where we see other gestures, it may be reasonably thought that such a Man is *not worshipping*, not *praying* at all.

B. (t) By the general consent of the Learned in the Jewish Rites, that *gesture* intended and commanded in the Law belong'd only to the *Night* wherein the *Israelites* were to leave *Ægypt* in *haste*, but was not to continue when they came into *Canaan*. So that there was no necessity for Christ to eat the Passover *standing*, and then to *sit down* at the common Supper.

(s) Greg. Naz. Orat. 25. (t) Assembly.

A. I deny not, but Men of note both Jews and Christians, favour what you say. Such as Tremellius, who will not allow those four circumstances, the Loins girt, the Shooes on, the Staff in Hand, nor the eating in haste, to go further than Egypt, because in *Exod.* 12. 14. where it is made a formal institution, to be kept as a Feast by an ordinance for ever, there is mention only of the Passover it self, without any of the Ceremonies or Rites used, and exprest occasionally before, v. 11. (u) Scaliger believes the same thing in the main, but dates the alteration from the *Babylonish Captivity*. (w) Beza admits a change, but differs from them both, for he rejects no more than the Blood on the two side Posts, and the upper door Post of the Houses, so that by making this exception he confirms the Rest. Cajetan and Baronius are of this number. And of our own Countrymen, Willet, Godwin, Babington, Ainsworth, and some others, explode all the Ceremonies, particularly that of standing, upon the warrant they have from some Canons, and Speeches of the Rabbins in these Terms. (x) We are obliged to eat sitting or lying, that we may eat like Princes and Great Men——We sit eating as a Memorial of our Deliverance——the Bread of affliction is to be eaten, but in a way that declares our Liberty——'Tis the manner of Servants to eat standing. We use another gesture to let the World see we are in slavery no longer——Let not the Poorest Israelite eat otherwise than sitting——And in those interrogatories made on this occasion, we find a distinction observed between this Night and all others, (y) Because all other Nights we wash but once, in this twice. In others we eat leavened or unleavened Bread, in this only unleavened.

(u) De Emend. Temp. (w) In Matth. 26. (x) Maimonid, R. Levi. (y) Lib. Pesach.

In other Nights we eat any sort of Herbs, in this none but bitter Herbs. In all other Nights we eat and drink sitting or lying, but in this altogether lying——

And it passes for an Ancient Tradition in the *Talmud*, that this *discumbency* at the eating of the Passover was a testimony of their Liberty.

But put the case that the Jews of the latter Generations altered the Custom, and changed the gesture from *standing* to *sitting or lying down*, either *before* or *after* the *Captivity*, to signify thereby the *Redemption* they had got from *Agypt* and *Babylon*; and that now they were to eat and drink as a *free People*, and *Lords* of those Places, where the Passover was kept by 'em; yet it is not likely, that Christ, who came to fulfil and did fulfil all *Righteousness*, and show an impartial, (z) and intire obedience to the Law of his Father, would prefer this indulgence, before what was expressly written by *Moses*, not only at the time of *Institution*, but as it was after ratified when they were got far enough from a State of Bondage. For in *Numb. 9. 3.* *Moses* repeats the Command about keeping the Passover *at the appointed time according to all the rites of it, and according to all the Ceremonies of it——* And what rite more material and significant then *standing*, in conformity to that veneration they shew'd at the institution of this ordinance, when at the bare mention of it, (a) *The People bowed the head and worshipped——* nay, which bespeaks a more Religious and Sacramental gesture, (b) *They kneeled*, and yet further, (c) *They fell flat on the ground and adored the Lord.*

(z) *Gerhard Harm. Evang. c. 169.* (a) *Exod. 12. 27.* (b) *Genyflexerunt. Syr.* (c) *Prostratus. Arab.*

And besides this Obedience which Christ was to show in every tittle; at this particular time the *Gesture* had a special signification, and a *reason* not much unlike that at the first appointment of it.

(d) Because *hereby*, he declared, that he was going to leave or *pass* out of this World, according to that of St. John, when Jesus knew that his hour was come, that he should depart out of this World to the Father — (e) he instituted this Christian-Passover in remembrance of this *departure*; and in all probability did it *standing*, to signify his *readiness* to be gone to the *Celestial Canaan*, as the Jews expressed theirs, in the same gesture upon their Journey to the *other*. So that allowing the *Jews* to make this *alteration* at the Passover, (as in truth we know they added and diminished, and changed many things, and said, and did almost what they pleased, without regard to the Law, which was so loud in their mouths) yet it is not credible that the *Lord Jesus* would submit to any of those abuses; And though he did comply with diverse instances in the Jewish Worship of *humane appointment*, where the Law did not suffer by it, yet where the Law was plainly contradicted or evaded, (as in this case,) to be sure, he would by no means dispense with it himself, nor give an ill example to future Generations, to do by *him* as he by *Moses*, and thereupon frustrate all divine institutions, because of the little respect he might seem to give them.

B. But if Christ and his Disciples did eat the Passover, and perhaps the Sacrament *standing*, why do not we conform to their examples? And seeing

(d) *Se jam ex hoc mundo transiurum.* Joh. 13. 1. (e) *In memoriam transitus sui ex hoc mundo ad patrem.* Synod. Trid.

neither our Lord in the *institution*, nor *Paul* in the *recital* of it, prescribed any Ceremonies to be used on that occasion, would it not be safest for us to *stand* likewise, as a gesture which *Christ* cannot take amiss, because it was his *own*. And methinks, as to this, our *dissenting Brethren* are so far in the right, Because, reading in the Gospels, that *Christ sate down with the twelve* — they *literally* submit to that Custom, and receive the Sacrament *sitting*. If they are mistaken in the gesture, it is an *Errour* of the *Understanding*, and not the *Will*; And I dare say, in their behalf, that were they persuaded, our Lord and his Disciples used any *other gesture*, they would cheerfully comply with it, and take the Sacrament, either *standing* or *kneeling*.

1. The *silence* of *Christ*, and his *Apostles* leaves it to discretion. And their prescribing *no* gesture at all, makes us consider it within the number of *indifferent things*, comprehended under the general Rule of *Order* and *Decency*. And as for our conformity to their examples, we see no warrant for it; because the only gesture the Scripture takes notice of, was *sitting*, which being at a *common-meal* or that *part* of the *Paschal Supper*, which consisted of *ordinary food*, it is no sufficient precedent for us to apply it at a *Banquet* confessedly *Divine*. And though it is no more than probable from what has been alledged, that they did eat the Passover *standing* (f) yet we are not sure, whether that gesture was *continued* in the Sacrament, or changed into *kneeling*, as more becoming the dignity of this new institution: And in this uncertainty, we can frame no rule to our selves on that consideration.

(f) Forbes Irenicum, l. 1. c. 4. unde scis an non mutato gestu acceperint Eucharistiam, &c.

However, *Standing*, *Kneeling*, and *prostration* are all *supplicatory gestures*, and used over the whole World in the Adoration and Worship of God, but still they have their *Degrees* of Reverence ; And as the *first* better suited the Jews, because it was prescribed 'em, and signified withal their departure out of *Egypt* : So the Church thinks the *two* latter more proper for our Circumstances, not only because she has a great care that her Children do not *judaize* in any particular (and therefore must not *stand* at the *Sacrament*, as the Jews *stood* at the *Passover*) but moreover, because in the *Sacrament* we offer up a *Memorial* of the Sacrifice of Christ, for the Pardon of our Sins, and we ought certainly to present it in the *humblest way* imaginable ; And if she prefers *Kneeling* before the other, it is not because she thinks *Kneeling* submissive enough, but because we cannot with any manner of *Conveniency*, take the Elements or eat and drink with *Prostration*.

As for the way of our *Dissenting Brethren*, who eat and drink at the *Sacrament sitting* ; if they do not submit to the discipline of the Church out of a scruple of Conscience, my Mouth is stopped, I Judge no Man. *Conscience* is tender, and 'tis a dreadful thing to act against it ; nor dare I encourage an hard thought against them in their case, for fear by a Revolution of Providence it may some time or other be my Own. Yet this ought to be done ; I would check all motions which would tempt me to be *singular*. To do nothing out of *Affectation* or *Pride* ; Not to break the *Unity* or *Peace* of the Church of God, if it can be avoided : To endeavour all Christian-ways to clear my doubts ; and be well perswaded at last, that I am in the right, before I separate from *that Communion*, wherein I had my *Baptism*, and all the advantages of pious Education. And when
this

this is done, to convince the World I have no other end, than the safety of my *Conscience*, in this withdrawing my self, I would not be industrious to *Propagate* my sense of things, lest it should afterwards be made appear, that I was *mistaken*; (g) And this I would be sure of, to have no more of my Errour to answer for, than what immediately concerns my self. Nothing of *malicious diligence* should be charged upon me; nor would I expose my Soul to the hazard of bearing the burdens of other People, who will be ready to plead the Contagion of my example, and use the reasons I gave, to lead them astray. In a word, whatever my principles were, they should be always attended with *Soberness and Modesty*; I would use my best care to avoid contention; Never lose my *Charity*, nor my *Manners*, towards those, who differ in Opinion from me, because such eagerness and intemperate Zeal favours of *design*, and makes a party, but *unchristians* Men. My Ear and my Heart should be constantly open to wholesom advice; and for Peace sake I would yield as far as I well could, rather than be a means to distract my Neighbours, and bring all to Confusion. And God forbid any such Article should be made against me, that as much as in me lay, I have been one of those who Studiously reform Religion to nothing. Mr. Baxter was of this mind, if we may believe his words, for he speaks thus, though *I differ from many in several Doctrines, yet if I should zealously press my Judgment on others, and seek to make a party for it, and disturb the Peace of the Church, and separate from my Brethren, I should fear lest I should prove a Fire-brand in Hell, for being a Fire-brand in the Church.*

(g) Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo. Aug.

Now as for the point in hand. Our *Brethren* should be very sure, that the *gesture* of Christ and his Disciples at the Sacrament was *sitting*, because otherwise the Argument of their practice is lost, and they will have no manner of Divine warrant for that *habit* of Body, at the Lord's-Table. How Christ's *sitting* is to be understood, and at what *part* of the Paschal Supper, you had before. So that either they must have a very mean conceit of that sacred Meal, or they should use a *gesture* answerable to the notion of it, to be sure no worse than *that* at the Passover.

But what if it be demanded, why they take it *sitting*? Why not rather *lying* or *leaning down on one side*, which was the way in those Days, and 'tis very plain, (b) the *Greek* word speaks it so. *When the even was come, he lay down with the twelve. And as they lay down and did eat. When his hour was come, he lay down with the twelve.* And St. Matthew calls a *guest* (i) [ἀνακειμένον] *And the wedding was furnished with guests.* So we translate it, but in the Original it is, the Marriage-Feast filled with People to *lie down*. And therefore to be critically rigorous in making Christ and his Disciples our Patterns for a *gesture* to be used at the Holy Communion, we ought to *lie down*, as they did in the *Greek*, and not *sit*, as in our *English Tradition*, and the rather, because the word (k) [ἀνακειμένος] has a Religious signification, and means one *Consecrated* or devoted to God, it becomes those who are devoted to God, and who lift up their Eyes to him alone, to be thus religiously disposed — So that keeping close to the Letter of the Text, we find *discumbency* the

(b) Matth. 26. 20. Mark 14. 18. Luke 22. 14. (i) καὶ ἐπλήσθη ὁ γάμος ἀνακειμένων. Matth. 22. 10. (k) Δεῖ γὰρ τὸς ἀνακειμένους θεῷ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βλέποντας μόνον ἕως διακῆσαι σιλαβῶς. Chrysost.—

gesture ; (1) and if Men will be very *exact*, they should not *sit*, but *lie down at this Table*, as Christ and his Disciples did, being a gesture more warrantable on the account of their example; and of near kin to religious *Prostration* or falling flat on the ground.

B. We and they know, that the word in strictness signifies *leaning* or *lying down* ; but *discumbency* and *sitting*, is by interpretation the *same* ; and therefore though the *Jews* and *we* seemingly differ in Table-gestures, yet we all mean but *one thing*. And consequently our English [*sitting*] is very proper, because, though it was the Custom then to *lie down*, yet now, in our Nation at least, the way is to *sit*, when we eat at Table.

A. *Fashions* among *Men* must not extend to the *Ordinances of God*. And if our *Brethren* are persuaded, that the gesture of Christ and his Disciples should influence us, to use the *same* at the Holy Sacrament, it is not safe for us to vary from it upon the consideration of a Country Custom. We might as well by this Argument take *Beer* and *Syder*, or some such Liquor instead of *Wine*, because they are naturally the product of this *Northern Climate*, and as much used by us, as *Wine* by the *Romans* and *Jews*. But though there were formerly a sort of Hereticks (*m*) (called *Hydroparastatæ*) who used *Water* for *Wine*, yet I think neither that nor any thing like it, has yet entred into our Thoughts, though there seems a great *Latitude* in the *Institution*, which mentions barely the *Cup*, but no *Wine*. But we have sufficient reason to believe that the *Cup* contained nothing besides *Wine*, both from the *Custom* of that Country ; and from

(1) Vid. de hac Quæst. plura in Saundersoni Prælect. Oxon. de Conscientia Prælect. 3. N. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. (*m*) Can. 30. Conc. 6. in Trullo.

the Declaration Christ then made, that *thenceforth* he would drink no more of the fruit of the Vine.

And it is to be further noted, that this *Discumbency* or lying down on Beds and Carpets, was not the common *Table gesture* among the Jews, though without doubt they did sometimes use it in complaisance to the Romans, their Lords, and other Nations, with whom they convers'd, and among whom that Custom prevailed. For it is said of Joseph's Brethren, וישבו which the *seventy* and the other versions, except the Syriac, render by *sitting*; and they sate before him. So again, the People murmuring in the Wilderness, said — *Would to God we had died in the Land of Egypt, when we (n) sate by the flesh-pots* — again, *It came to pass, as they sate at Table* — And in the Prophet Jeremy, *Thou shalt not go into the house of feasting, to sit with them to eat and drink*. — In which three last places the Syriac consents, and all the translations agree; only in that of Jeremy, the Targum of Jonathan saith, [Ut discumbas] to lie down, though the word שבו properly signifies to sit, and when lying down is intended, another Hebrew word is used, as in Amos 2. 8. and they laid themselves down upon Clothes, ו' declinare fecerunt, as Dr. Walton turns it. And in those Questions and Answers at the Passover, this Night is distinguished from all other Nights, on the account, that, in other Nights, the Jews did eat sitting or lying down, but in this only lying; from which it is evident, (o) that the fashion of sitting at Table, was both more Ancient and more practised, even among the Jews themselves; and therefore if they, for distincti-

(n) Exod. 16. 3. 1 Kings 13. 20. Jer. 16. 8. (o) Hinc patet morem sedendi in mensa esse antiquissimum: Mos enim accumbendi vel discumbendi longè posterius cepit — A Lapid. in Gen. 42.

on fake, *lay down* at the Paschal Supper, and that, as is urged, our Lord did the same, this *Emphasis* calls for a more exact conformity; because, tho' they indifferently *sate* or *lay along* at other times, yet at the *Sacramental Supper*, the latter, (on a particular reason) was observed by them in a more formal and solemn manner.

I must confess, I am not in love with this way of disputing; yet it is *Argumentum ad Hominem*, as they call it, and concludes against Men, who are scrupulous and nice, in adhering to a gesture then in Fashion. But for my own part, I lay no mighty stress upon what Christ *said* or *did* at the Passover. And unless it could be well proved what *gesture* he was pleased to require from the Disciples, at the Administration of the Sacrament, my Conscience is affected with nothing but what I find clearly express'd at that Sacred institution. And seeing there is a profound silence concerning this Circumstance, I safely believe it left to the Piety and Wisdom of the Church, who Christ foresaw would prescribe such a *Gesture* as might be very *significant* to express that *humility* and reverence we ought to approach with to the *Divine Table*.

B. Well, laying aside a precedent liable to Cavil, and following the Conduct of that discretion, and reason you appeal to in this point, what *Gesture* can there be more proper, and more agreeable to the Nature of the thing than *sitting*? Because the *Sacrament* being an holy Banquet and *Feast*, (as you sometimes call it) the Privilege of a guest, and the *freedom* of a Table, expect such a gesture as bespeaks the sense we have of God's reconciliation, who to testify his Good-Will towards us, admits us to eat and drink in his presence as Friends and Children, or in the words of the Prayer after the Communion, *as very members incorporate*

incorporate in the mystical Body of Christ, which is the Blessed company of all faithful People, and heirs, thro' hope of God's everlasting Kingdom, by the Merits of the most precious Death and Passion of his dear Son.--- And therefore in full assurance of his favour, we come to this Table with great satisfaction and joy, not in a *Suppliant*, *dejected manner*, and distrustful of the Clemency and Mercy of the inviter, as they seem to come with, who use *prostration or kneeling*.

A. 'Tis true, this action hath the shew of a *Feast*, and so it is, but 'tis (p) a *Sacred Feast* made for Divine Worship. And though it be a *Table*, it must be remembred that it is the *Lord's-Table*, and the *Lord's-Body* and *Blood*, which ought to be discerned well, as *St. Paul* saith, and not treated as *vulgar food* which perishes in the use, whereas this is the *Bread of Eternal Life*, and he that eats of it, shall live for ever. As therefore the *Bread* is not *common*, so neither is the *behaviour* to be as at ordinary *Tables*. The Scripture indeed saith, it is a (q) *Table*, but withal calls it an (r) *Altar*; and though the *first* Character of it encourages freedom, such as Children may take, yet the other demands (s) *reverence*; and while we are with him as a *Father*, we ought to adore him as *God*. And as the *one stile* may cause joy, so may the other trembling without any incongruity or contradiction, if *David* knew what he said, *Pf. 2. 11. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice to him with trembling*--- And so it is reported of the *Women*, that they departed from the *Sepulcher* with *fear and great joy*---with *fear*, because of the won-

(p) *Hæc actio habet speciem convivii, imò est convivium, sed Sacrum & divini cultûs causa*---Piscator in *Matth. 26.*

(q) *1 Cor. 10. 21. (r) Heb. 13. 10. (s) τρέψαι καὶ φοβέσθαι. τρέψαι καὶ φοβέσθαι. τρέψαι καὶ φοβέσθαι.*

ders they had seen, and with joy for the good news which was told 'em, *Matth.* 28. 8. (t) And so in the Sacrament, we approach to it with joy, upon the confidence we have of the Divine goodness, but still we behave our selves with a reverential and Godly *fear*, because of the idea we ought to have of his Majesty and Power; and although we are sure that for Christ's sake our Sins are Pardoned, yet we are never to forget them, especially when we present our selves before the Infinite and gracious God, who has been pleased to remit 'em. A satisfaction it must needs be to a wounded Spirit, that he is going to Offer up the Memorial of the great Sacrifice once made in his behalf; but then while he doth this, 'tis fit he should be seen in a *Sacrificing gesture*; and consider such a time to be what it is, a time of (u) *Mourning*, a time of *sighing*, a time of *weeping*, a time of *confessing*, and *begging of Pardon*. For the *Apostle* tells us, that in the Sacrament, we do shew forth the Lord's-Death; and the sight of what is there done should equally affect us, as if we saw Christ hanging on the Cross. And therefore shall a Man come to such a sight (x) *Pompatic & gloriose*, as St. *Cyprian* speaks? Shall he sit as a Judge, or be a Spectator of this Tragedy in a way of *diversion*, and without any other concern than barely to see it, and then go away? Surely a Communicant hath other Thoughts of this Religious Act, and remembers that at such an hour he is Offering up a Propitiation, or Atonement for his many Impieties, and thereupon doth it with all *humility*, for fear his unseemly carriage

(t) *Ad domos statim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi sternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis supplicamus.* *Salvian.* de Prov. (u) *Tempus lugendi, tempus gemendi, tempus flendi, tempus confitendi & deprecandi* — *Aug* in Ps. (x) *De coena dom.*

should provoke God instead of pleasing him, (y) outward irreverence being the sure sign of a Prophan mind, as St. Paul tells the Corinthians, That they did not discern the Lord's-Body, because they did not deal more respectfully with it in the holy Supper, than in their meals at the common Table.

The *Mosaic Sacrifices*, as in other particulars, so in this, will help to inform us. They then were considered in two respects. First, As dedicated and Offered up to God; and Secondly, As eaten by those Men who offer'd'em. So it is in the Sacrament. We Offer and we Eat. And as on the latter account we may call it a *Feast*, so on the other, it is a *Sacrifice*, and in both an act of Religion, and therefore to be done in a Religious way: Especially if it be remembred, that our Necessities call for it under the notion of a Sacrifice, (z) In the offering of which we present also our Sins, saying whether we will or no, we have sinned. Pardon us. i. e. We mention them first, and then we beg Pardon — And in this respect we are to look back on that Ceremony among the Jews, who always put their hand on the head of the burnt Offering, not only to signify that they made over all the right they had in the Beast, to the use of God (somewhat like the *Manumission* among the Romans, when renouncing their interest in the Slave, they laid their hand on his head and said, *Let this Man be free*) but moreover (a) the Offerer transferred the Punishment, due to himself on the Beast ready to be Sacrificed, and thereby owned that he himself deserved to be slain, but that by a gracious dispen-

(y) Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trid. *Externa irreverentia signum prophane mentis*, &c. (z) Chrysost. Hom. in Heb. (a) *Hac ceremonia significat Offerens se peccata sua imprecari, & quasi imponere victimae immolande eamq; pro se Offerre.* A Lap. in Levit. 1.4.

sation, God was pleased to accept of the *Beast* for him. (b) And so *Eusebius* understands the imposition of the hand as the *Symbol* of an Offering, and a Testimony of that *Cuilt* they discharged themselves of, and laid on the Sacrifice. For the *hands* are the instruments of Sinful actions; and as by these they did many ill things to provoke God, so by them they laid their Crimes on the oblation, in whose Death they thought their own Punishment over, as Men acquitted and by interpretation restored to their former Innocency.

And this I take to be one meaning of the *Ministers* laying his hand on the *Bread* and *Cup* at the Communion, not barely to *Consecrate* and Bless the Elements, but withal to show that in behalf of himself and the *People*, he sets his and their Sins on that *Sacrifice*, they are going to Commemorate and Tender to God at that time. Forasmuch therefore as every Communicant is before this *Altar*, as a *Condemned Man*, and must suffer for his Sins, either in his own Person or something else, if there continues still a Law of *Redemption* and *Exchange*, whereby Punishments are transferred from one Creature to another, and from us to our Saviour Christ *Jesus*, yet certainly (as Criminals are wont to do in the like cases) we should receive our acquittal or discharge in a very *bumble manner*; and so treat this holy Oblation (c) with great *Religion* and *Reverence* according to the Custom of every Church, with a comely *Habit*, modest behaviour, soberly and devoutly with the head uncovered, and with a bended knee — After the Example of Christ, when he was just going to be made this Sacrifice, He kneeled down and pray'd — (d) To teach

(b) Demonst. Evang. l. i. c. 10. (c) Hospinian Hist. Sacra.
(d) Rossin. de Geniculat.

all Spiritual Sacrificers, to use the same kneeling in their devotion and prayers, which he began in the Propitiatory, and all sufficient Sacrifice for Sin.

Nor is this the only oblation we make at the Holy Communion. For therein we set forth our Prayers as the incense, and the lifting up of our hands as the Evening Sacrifice——We tender the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, and therefore the Communicants eat and drink (e) kneeling, as a signification of their humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ, therein given to all worthy Receivers. And then also (f) we present unto God our selves, our Souls and Bodies to be a reasonable, holy and lively Sacrifice unto him——And in what gesture can this be better done than what the Saints in Heaven use, (g) for they fall before the Throne on their faces and worship, saying, Blessing and Glory, and Wisdom, and Thanksgiving, and Honour, and Power, and Might be unto our God for ever and ever.

B. But we ought to have a great regard to the Consciences of our Brethren, who are scandalized at this gesture; and who seeing us kneel before the Table, may suppose we adore the Elements, and give too much countenance to Transubstantiation, which yet in point of Doctrine we declaim against, as a Romish invention brought into the Church, more for the Honour of the Priest than the Glory of God.

A. Our kneeling at the Sacrament would be no offence, if Men did but ask what the Church meant by it. Her words are these :——(h) Whereas it is ordained in this [Communion] Office, for the Ad-

(e) At the close of the Rubrick, Post Commun. (f) Prayer, Post Communio. (g) Revel. 7. 12. (h) Declarat. post Communion.

ministration of the Lord's-Supper, that the Communicants should receive the same kneeling--yet lest the same kneeling should by any Persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved, it is here declared that thereby no Adoration is intended, or ought to be done either unto the Sacramental Bread and Wine, there Bodily received, or unto any Corporal presence of Christ's Natural flesh and blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine, remain still in their Natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry to be abhorred by all faithful Christians) and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, are in Heaven and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's Natural Body, to be at one time in more places than one——(i) We adore God in the mysteries, but not the mysteries; in the Sacrament, but not the Sacrament——We will worship in the place where his feet stood. Well saith Chamier, *In the place, but not the place its self*: So we worship in the Eucharist, but we worship not the Eucharist. We kneel before the Table, but we adore neither the Table nor any thing on it, though we have from that Table such testimonies of the divine Favour, as move us to worship God who is so gracious to us. The Papist adores the Bread and Wine, yet not as Bread and Wine, but as their substance is supposed changed and made the very Body and Blood of Christ, that Body which he had here on Earth, and which the Disciples literally Worshipped. But it is hard to charge us with what they think or do. Let the abuses be to themselves. And if they will adore the Sacrament, we cannot help it. Our care is to Worship God alone, while the Sacrament is Administred.

(i) Chamier Lib 7. de Euch. c. 2. §. 9. vid. Morney de Missa.

If Men were to be frightned from holy things, because they are ill used, we should not lay by the *Eucharist* alone, but reject *Baptism*, throw away the *Bible*, and in short, have no *Religion* at all. For heretofore on the one hand, a very great stress was laid on *trinal Mersion* in *Baptism*, and by this means some crafty heads design'd to prejudice the *Unity* of the Godhead, (k) *Eunomius* on the other hand, introduced *single Mersion* to destroy the *Trinity*, (l) or as *Zonaras* speaks, to confound and contract the holy *Trinity* into one Person--- Must we therefore not Baptize at all? Then, as to *Scripture*, what Book, what Chapter of it is there, which *this* or *that Heretick*, has not rejected or blasphemed or wrested, must we therefore throw it by and never read it? And lastly, for *Religion* in general, what a fair shew do some Men make of it, who yet in reality have no *Religion* at all? But shall we therefore lay it aside, because they are Hypocrites? Shall we not say our Prayers, because others never Pray, or Pray only out of Wordly design? In all these and the like cases, we are to reform the abuses and mind the thing. And though in particular, the holy *Eucharist* hath been all along exposed to this misfortune, some believing it barely *Bread* and *Wine*, without relation to what they signify, others making it the very *Body* and *Blood* of Christ, and accordingly adore it, as the *Romanists* now, yet these are no reasons for us to renounce it, but going between the two extremes, we treat it with *decency*, as becomes a *Sacrament*; and if we kneel while we continue Communicants, we do it purely in reverence to Christ, who made it an *Ordinance*; and we no

(k) Sozom. Eccl. Hist. l. 6. c. 26. (l) In Can. 7. Conc. Constant.

more Worship it, than we do the Wood or Stone on which it is placed, or the Minister from whose hands we receive it.

B. But to *adore*, or to use an adoring gesture in this action, though it be immediately directed to God himself, can we understand it otherwise than a more subtle, or more *refined piece of Idolatry*, or as *Durandus* softens it, a *relative Worship*, innocently enough exprest before an Image, without adoring the Image it self? The Old *Pagans* had this Evasion, who were not such Fools as to Worship *inanimate matter*, but only, as they pretended, those Deities the things *resembled*. Yet the Ancient Doctors for all that call 'em *Idolaters*; nor could the *inward intention* of the mind sanctify their visible applications to the Idol, nor excuse the charge against 'em, of being impiously devout.

A. We are to distinguish between a *Negative Precept* forbidding Images, (as in the Decalogue), and a *positive institution* commanded in the Gospel. The same action may be good or bad diversely considered: And though to *kneel* at the Communion, as an holy Appointment, is decent and pious, yet to kneel before an Image *forbidden* in Scripture is *Idolatry* and Will-worship. We read in the Book of *Leviticus*, that God was wroth with *Nadab and Abihu*, for *Offering incense*, yet he was not angry, that incense was *Offered*, but because it was offer'd *by them, with strange Fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not*; ——— for in the words before *(m)* he accepted that *which Moses and Aaron offered*, because it was done according to the Precept. It was a Sin in *Abaz* to Worship before the *Altar*, made in the Fashion of that he had seen at *Damascus*, or to sacrifice on it,

(m) Lev. 9. 24.

yet 'twas a Duty in *Solomon* to do both at the *Lord's-Altar* at *Jerusalem*. We have no need of *Subtleties* in what we do : Nor do we flee for refuge to the *intention* of Men to secure us from *Idolatry*. They who adored the *Golden-calf* or the *Brazen-Serpent*, did not terminate their Devotion there, yet it excuses 'em not ; and the charge of false Worship is not unjustly fixt on them, though they might pretend those Objects no more than the sensible representations of God their Deliverer. We declare the Bread and Wine at the Communion *sacred Mysteries*, sanctified for use, but not *Adoration*. They are an *Ordinance* of Christ, and so we consider 'em, and come to 'em as *such* ; we eat and drink in *Obedience to the Ordainer*, and as in them we remember him a *Sacrifice*, so on that account we adore him as a *Saviour*. We kneel before the Creatures ; true, and where shall we kneel without 'em ? (n) *Solomon* on his knees pray'd before the *Altar*. *David* address'd God before his *Footstool*. *Elias* pray'd before the People, before the *Altar*, before the *Sacrifice*. In what place soever we are, we lift up our Eyes and Hands to Heaven, yet we do not Worship it, no not as the Throne of God. We go to Church with our Neighbours to Worship, but we Worship, neither the Church, nor the People. (o) It is the Custom of those, who do Penance to kneel before the Minister from whom they receive *Absolution*. And when Men are *Ordained*, it is in the same gesture, and yet without the charge of doing this piece of Divine homage, to the *Bishop* or the *Minister*. Though then it be a sound Proposition, That it is an idolatrous Act to Worship before a

(n) 1 King 8. 54: Ps. 99. 5. 1 King 18. (o) Vid. Forbes Iren. l. 1. c. 1.

Creature, with such Thoughts as to make that Creature the *term and object* of our Worship, and limit our Devotion to it, either for its *own sake*, or as it is the *Symbol* of something adorable, as when the Apostatizing *Jews* offer'd incense to the *Brazen Serpent*, or the *Romanists* to their *Images, Reliques, Cross* and the like, yet it is not Applicable in this case, because, though we kneel at our Prayers, while the Bread and Wine are on the Table, and take 'em when consecrated, as an holy Sacrament, or *mean* for God to convey his Grace into our Hearts, and as a *Pledge* of his Love to us, yet we consider 'em no further than as a *Testimony* of the Divine favour; and we no more Worship 'em, than we Worship a Ring, Jewel or Goblet, the *King* might bestow upon us, and which *as from the King* we receive kneeling. And though the *Papists* in general have another Notion, yet some particular Men among 'em are not ashamed to own the truth, and say, *That in the Eucharist Christ is to be discerned by the mind from the visible sign, and he is to be adored, and not the Sacrament, because, the Elements are things created and without Life, and consequently incapable of Adoration: For it is not enough that Christ is under 'em, because God is also in the Soul of Man as in his Temple, and yet God is Worshipped, and not the Soul:*——
So Suarez.

Briefly : Our going to the Sacrament we look upon as a Religious Act, and one distinguishing instance of our Christianity; and so we call it in the Prayer after the Communion, *our bounden Duty and Service*. And thereupon, as in all the rest, so especially this, we take our selves obliged to do it in a very *reverent and humble way*, and upon this reason we kneel, not to the Sacrament, but at it or in the time of it, as a sacred Ordinance, which with our Prayers and Praises make up the Service

Service of *that Day*, or that *part* of the Day dedicated to his Service.

And in this the (p) *reformed Churches* agree with us, treading in the steps of all the Churches before 'em. And though they look on the gesture as an *indifferent thing*, within the Liberty and Power of the Church to alter or retain, yet to sit at the Sacrament, they take for such an *overt act of inward irreverence*, that they cannot but think, either the *Pagans* who adored their Images *sitting*, (according to a Law fathered on *Numa*, requiring *Ut Adoraturi sedeant*) or the *Arians* who denied the Divinity of Christ, must be Godfathers of this innovation. So speak (q) two Synods in *Poland*, which call these Men *Arians*, (or in the new stile *Socinians*) *Perfidious deserters, unbelieving runnagates, who place Christ on the same bench with themselves, and deny the Lord that bought 'em. And who under pretence of imitating Christ and his Disciples, encourage an evil practice to the scandal of Religion: And change that decent gesture approved; and used throughout all Europe, and over the whole World.*

B. I must crave leave to dissent in that: For I cannot believe this Custom of *kneeling* so *Catholick*, on the account either of *place* or *time*, as is commonly said, because not only in these our Days the Church of *Scotland*, many in *England*, in the *United Provinces*, and elsewhere use sitting, (as I think they say, the *Pope* doth when he *receives*) but in Ancient times the Communicants stood at the Sacrament, as *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, informs us upon this occasion. (r) There was a certain Person who had been Baptized by the He-

(p) *Veterem Ecclesiam in hoc imitantes*, &c. Forbes Iren. l. 2. c. 16. n. 1. (q) Concil. Ulodislaviens. Can. 6. Concil. Petricoviens. Art 4. (r) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 9.

reticks, and who afterwards discovering how much it differed from the way of the *Orthodox*, in comparison of which he found the other(s) full of impiety and blasphemies, he comes to *Dionysius* (t) weeping, and lamenting his hard fortune, and desiring the Bishop to baptize him. It was a nice point, and *Dionysius* durst not depend on his own Judgment, but writes to *Xystus* Bishop of Rome, and desires his advice: But withal lets him know his own Opinion; that for his part, he had hitherto denied the Man for this reason, *Because*, saith he, *he has been partaker of all the instances of Christian-Worship, and, among the rest, (u) he has often stood at the Altar, and received the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* — Whereupon (w) *Valesius* (as well he might) makes this inference, That heretofore the Communicants went up to the Altar, and there received standing, and not kneeling, as is now in practice. — This is confirm'd by that Canon of the *Nicene Council* you cited, and which for Uniformity sake, required all Churches to stand at their Prayers, between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, as also on every *Lord's-day*, whereon the Sacrament being always Administred, they must be supposed to Communicate standing, because the Canon makes no exception. And it is to be suspected, that this Custom is in a great measure owing to the Decree of *Honorius*, for the Adoration of the Sacrament, this gesture being very proper for their Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, but ill becomes those who explode that notion. The Language of

(s) ἀσεβείας ἐκείνο καὶ βλασφημιῶν, &c. — (r) κλίνειν καὶ μεταθρῆναν ἐαυτοῦ. (u) καὶ τεταπῆζεν παρασάντα. — (w) *Fideles communicaturi ad altare accedebant, ibiq; corpus Christi de manu Presbyteri stantes, non ut hodie, flexis genibus, accipiebant* — Val. in loc.

Chrysostom concurs, with what I am saying ; for he complains thus of the remissness of the People ; *In vain we stand at the Altar* : — where you see, though he calls the Table an *Altar*, yet the Sacrificers, i. e. the Communicants stood at it. *Homil. ad pop. Antioch.*

A. Your Objection is plausible. But to Answer it in its parts, and first for *Dionysius*, who calls it *standing*, and so a Critick must needs translate it. Yet most likely the *Bishop* intended no more than the parties *presence* at the Sacrament, and not his *Gesture*. And his question to *Xystus*, may be shortned thus. *Whether he who had been Baptized by an Heretick, but had lived a great while in the Communion of the Church, and eat and drunk at the Holy Table, ought to be rebaptized ?*

Now that the word *standing* is not always to be strictly taken, appears by several examples ; for whereas it is said, *the publican stood afar off*, it means nothing else but that he was at a great distance from the Pharisee in the Temple, yet probably on his *knees*, as better answering the *dejection* of his Spirits, and the great *confusion* he was then in, not daring to *lift up his Eyes to Heaven* : And accordingly the *Persian* translation saith, [*In genua se dabat*] *He fell on his knees*. And so it is reported of *Mary Magdalene*, (2.) *She standing at his feet behind him*, i. e. being behind him, and kneeling, for otherwise, how was she able to *wash his Feet with her Tears, and wipe 'em with the Hairs of her Head*. 'Tis a common way of Speech, we do or we do not *stand* upon this or that thing, when we mean no gesture at all, but that we will or will not continue our *Resolution* to proceed, or

(2) *σῴζω*, Stans, i. e. *præsens* & *genibus innixa ad pedes Christi*. A Lapid. in Luc. 7. 38.

forbear what we design. So that considering the way of the Church to Administer the Sacrament to the People *kneeling*, (according to that rule of the Fathers, that *every Man must adore before he eateth*;) by *Dionysius's standing*, is understood no more than that the party *had been a constant Communicant* for some time, that his Principles were sound and good, and his inclination altogether for the way of the Catholics, without any regard to his *sitting, kneeling or standing*. However, to make some improvement of this part of your exception, I desire you to remember the words immediately following those you cited, *and stretching out his hand to receive the sacred food* — which shows, especially if you take *Valesius's Comment* (whose Opinion is in credit with you) that it was the practice of *those days*, as now, for the *Priest* to give the *Bread and Wine into the hands* of the People.

But you observe the Council of *Nice*, required *standing* all the time between *Easter and Whitsuntide*, and on the *Lord's-days*, whereon to be sure the Sacrament was Administred ——— I cannot deny all this, yet am not convinced that they continued the *same gesture* at the holy Communion, which they used at their other Devotion. Because, though the latter was enjoined to be done *standing* in honour of Christ's Resurrection, and as a token of our belief, that we are to rise again, yet it must not be forgotten, that the *Lord's-Supper* is the *shewing forth his Passion and Death*, and therefore it calls for another gesture, as representing a passage which fell out *before Easter*, and so in Congruity it Challenged *another kind* of behaviour; And while they treated our Redeemer as a *Sacrifice*, *Bowing or Kneeling* was more suitable, though under the stile of a *Triumphant Conquerour*, and during the time of such a Reflection, the other well became

same 'em. However, this is not to be omitted, that the same *Canon* takes notice of another gesture, which People had been accustomed to, even between those two great Festivals; And if we restore that *more common*, and *more ancient* practice, there is no harm done. For as it then lay in the discretion and power of the Church to *make* that Constitution, so it is in the Power of the Church now to *alter* or *model* it, as she sees occasion.

As for Pope *Honorius*, I am apt to think you mistake the sence of the Decree. The words are these. *Let the Priest instruct the People, that whenever in the celebration of Mass, the hoste is elevated, they reverently Bow; doing the same when the Presbyter carries it to the Sick.* — So that first this is to be done at all times when the hoste is lifted up, whether in the Church or Street; and every Body is to show it reverence, whether *Communicants* or *not*. And the gesture is *Bowing* not kneeling. And in a word, this is nothing to the purpose, as to our behaviour at the holy Table. The History, as I take it, is that after *Innocent* had made his Declaration, that the *Bread* was the *Body*, and the *Wine* the *Blood* of Christ, truly and strictly, and the Elements changed by the Divine Power, into what after Consecration we Sacramentally call 'em, then *Honorius* his Successour, decreed that the Sacrament should be adored, not only God at the Sacrament, but the Sacrament it self upon the reason of *Transubstantiation*, supposing it now the *very Body and Blood* of Christ, and no longer *Bread and Wine*, as in appearance they are. And thus we may gather from their way of arguing in the Council of *Trent*. For as soon as it was resolved, that by virtue of Consecration, there is a *through change* of the whole substance of Bread into the substance of Christ's Body, and of the whole substance of Wine, into the substance of his Blood

(which Conversion, say they, is aptly named *Transubstantiation*) they subjoin as follows, *There is left therefore no room to doubt, but that all the faithful according to the received custom of the Catholick-Church, will have the Sacrament in the same veneration as God himself, and allow it, Latriæ cultum, because we believe the same God present, which the Eternal Father brought into the World, and said, let all the Angels of God Worship him ——— the same the Wisemen adored, &c.* Now for our parts, we no more regard this Decree, than we do the Day dedicated to the hoste, which they call the *Festival of Christ's Body*. However, notwithstanding this abuse of a Worshipping gesture directed to a wrong object, we think we have no more reason to leave it off in that sense we use it, than St *John* had to forbear all kneeling, because the Angel forbid him to kneel to him.

As for St. *Chrysostom*, a very few words will explain him. *We stand at the Altar ———* what then? *And no Man Communicates*, for so it immediately follows. It seems the People were grown very cold in this duty, and the good Bishop complains of it, because he and other Ministers stood at the Altar, expecting 'em to come to the Sacrament, but they declined it. However, had they gave their Attendance, St. *Chrysostom's* standing, is not to be taken for a *Sacramental gesture*. For all Ministers now stand, and must stand to give the Sacrament to others, though when themselves receive, they do it kneeling. His standing means an invitation, or as the Sacrament is Administred to the Congregation, and not the gesture they Communicated in. To conclude, were these Arguments of any strength to disprove kneeling, yet they contribute nothing to justify sitting. *Standing and Kneeling*, as I said before, are both Religious; and both indifferent, so that the Church may prescribe the one or the other. But as for sitting,

to

to say no more, 'tis a very *irreverent*, unmannerly habit of Body, in the presence of the great God, at whose Table we then are; and we appear to have little value for the Divine favour, while we are seen to deal so *familiarly* with him.

But we are now come to the place where we must part for this Evening, and I believe by that time you get home, you will want a Conveniency for the gesture you have been pleading for, and which you may safely and innocently use in such a place; I wish therefore you were there to enjoy it, for I doubt I have tired you.

Good-Night.

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The

The Fifth DIALOGUE.

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pal vestments resolved by Bucer, and Peter Martyr. His Opinion of the seventh-day. The reading of Lessons without exposition. Such expositions introduced by Ezra, and the reasons of it. The example and Precedent of our Sermons. The Fathers Preach'd every day. Short Sermons. Twice on the Lord's-day, according to the necessity of those times. Reading of the Apocrypha excused. Repetitions in the Liturgy, and often repeating the Lord's-Prayer vindicated. What were the Heathen Battologies. Some other Objections considered.

A. **I** Fear my moving this way hath occasioned your Friend to leave you, if so, I am sorry and beg your Pardon.

B. There's no need of it, Sir ; His business calls him away : And though I was unwilling, being alone, to part with him before, yet upon so good a change, I easily yielded to let him attend his affairs elsewhere. I suppose you know him. He is a very industrious, honest Man, but of few words, and therefore not so agreeable or fit for Conversation.

A. I remember his face, for he comes frequently to our Church, but as I have observed always late, which makes me suspect him to be no great Admirer of the Prayers ; and if I may judge of his Principle by his behaviour, he thinks it an useless Service : For his gesture contradicts the notion of a Suppliant, and he deals with the House of God as with his Parlour ; Sits immediately down, and so continues till the Liturgy is over. (a) 'Tis true, St. Augustine tells us, that it is not prescribed how the Body is to be managed in Prayer, provided the Mind discharges it self well : — And adds, That

(a) Non est Præscriptum, &c. ad Simplic.

some Votaries stood, some kneeled, and others prostrated themselves on the ground. And so (b) *Iustin Martyr*, and (c) *St. Cyprian* represent 'em standing. (d) And *Clemens of Alexandria* saith, that when they pray'd they threw themselves on the ground. So (e) *Arnobius*, that they did either kneel or prostrate themselves at Prayer, (f) as did the *Christian Soldiers* in the Emperours Army. All which gestures are significant enough to show their concern and humility: And a Man according to the state and condition of his Body, may innocently use which he pleases to express his Devotion by, where the Church and his Governours have lett him at Liberty. But we never read of a Man's sitting at his Prayers: That's a gesture too free and familiar to pretend Adoration and Worship; and it is a piece of irreligion, some what worse than not praying or not coming to Church, to be so publickly irreverent, when we would be thought pious, and thereby invite others to follow our Examples. For my part, as I look on the *Lord's-day* to be a *Day of Prayer*, so I take the Church to be the *House of Prayer*, as the Scripture and (g) the Ancients call it, and therefore they who pray, ought to address God (h) with humility and tears, and not with a disorderly and impudent carriage. When then on such a Day, I come to such a Place, I consider my self obliged to answer the end of my being there, and not presently seat my self, and abide

(b) Apolog. 2. (c) De Orat. Dom. (d) Strom. l. 7. (e) Contra gent. (f) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 5. (g) αἱ τὴν θεῶν ἐκκλησίαι αἱ καὶ προσευχῶν λεγόμεναι ———— Balsam in 75. Can. Conc. in Trullo (h) μετὰ δακρυῶν καὶ ταπεινότητος, καὶ μετὰ εὐλαβίας καὶ εὐαγδίας ᾠμαίτες ———— ibid. Intramus templa compositi — vultum submittimus, in omne argumentum modestie lingimur. Senec. Nat. Qu. l. 7. c. 30.

in that gesture during the Divine Worship, as if I had so much wearied my self in getting to the Church, that now I had nothing else to do but to ease me for an hour, and then recovering Breath and Spirits, return home again.

B. Surely there is more than that in it.

A. You mean the *bearing* of a *Sermon*. Which if done on a Religious score, and as an *Ordinance* of God, the carriage of a Man in the whole Service, would be Decent and Correspondent to such a Principle. But this being apparently otherwise, the Religion of such hearers, must be construed into what the *Athenians* went to *Mars's-hill* for, to *bear news*, wherein indeed they gratify Curiosity, and may serve *themselves*, but not *God*. But this *Christian-Sabbath* is intended for us to walk in *God's-ways*, not our *Own*. It is separated and sanctified for his Honour and Worship: And though the hearing of those *Divine Lectures*, (if so taken) are very necessary for our instruction and reproof, and thereby we show respect to the Author of these Holy Appointments, yet it should be ever remembered that our *Prayers* and *Praises*, are more properly the *Service*. And though we obey God in giving due attention to his word, yet then only we are said to Worship and Glorify, and do him Reverence, when we are seen on our knees, and in that humble manner acknowledge his *Sovereignty*, *Power*, *Wisdom* and *Mercy*; and on the sense of these Attributes make our Supplications, and zealous Addresses to him.

B. Undoubtedly, *Prayer* is one great work of this *Day*; And if *Paul* saith, we are to *pray without ceasing*, and *Luke*, that *Men ought always to pray*, or be by a good Habit ever disposed to it, and ready to perform it on all *Days*, when our ordinary affairs permit; so more especially is this to be done on the *Lord's-day*, which is distinguished

from all others on that account, and whereon all *secular* business is adjourn'd & removed to a distance, that we may be able to follow *this* the better.

A. Can any reasonable Man forget this instance of his Homage, to the Lord of Heaven and Earth, when he reads such Scriptures as tell him, that *God made us and not we ourselves* ; that *in him we live move, and have a Being* ; in a word, that he alone subsists of himself and hath every Creature, and every second Cause link'd to his Chair, being altogether managed and directed by his Providence ? This, if we are once perswaded of, we cannot but *apply* ourselves to him for Life, Health and Protection ; and this *Application* being made by *Prayer*, is the reason why we should *Pray* to him.

A Truth sufficiently clear'd to us by the Light of Nature: And therefore the Heathens had a God, to invoke for every thing they wanted, attributing all relief to the *Divine Power*, though they grossly erred in the notion of the *Divine Unity*. And of this the Magnificence and furniture of their *Temples* were plain demonstrations, for they consisted of presents almost numberless, promised and vowed in their *Prayers* for *safety, victory* or any other *success*. And we may observe in the *Bible*, that the name of ill Men is rendred by this Periphrasis, *They seek not after God, they work wickedness, they have not called upon God*—And pertinent is the remark of the *Chaldee* (b) Paraphrase on *Gen.* 4.26. speaking of those times when *Enos* was born, *then were Men so Prophane, that they did not call on the Name of the Lord*——— Yet it seems not so *Prophane* as to call upon no God, but they mistook the object, *they did not call on the Name of the Lord*—

(b) *Tunc prophanæ erant homines ut non orarent in nomine domini.*

Briefly, to attempt the enjoyment of any *Good*, or to expect the removal of any *Evil* without God, and without these *Addresles* to him, if it hath not some share in the *Atheist's Creed*, That indeed *there is no God*, or of the *Epicure's*, That he intermeddles not with matters here below; yet to give it the softest turn, 'tis very great *stupidity*, or Causes a suspicion, that we believe some kind of independency in ourselves, and that by our own strength, cunning or power, we can do very well without him. Whereas alas ! Should he be once provoked to withdraw his hand, which continually supports us, down we must sink, and in a moment moulder away to nothing For we are not in the least able of ourselves, to help ourselves, but all our sufficiency is from God. Nor can we receive any thing, but it must be given us from above. In sickness he is our *Physician*; In distress our *Deliverer*; In danger our *Refuge*; A present help in *Trouble*. But then it is required, that we say, *Help, Lord, or we Perish*:—*Master, Master, we Perish: Help us now, O Lord:—O Lord, save Us.*—

Yet it is not to be thought, but that without any formal representation of our wants, God hath *Insight* and *Wisdom*, enough to understand 'em, and as our Lord speaks, *He knows that we have need of all these things*:—Which is the reason, the (i) *Adamiani* went on to deny the necessity of Prayer; however, he requires us to speak of 'em, if only by that means to (k) impress our own *Hearts*, and bring us to a true sense of his *All-suf-*

(i) *Deum à nobis precandum & orandum esse negant Adamiani, quia scit ipse per se quibus egeamus. Clem. Alex. Stro. l. 7. (k) Ad parandos animos ut ardentius oremus—Aretius in Matth. 6. Excitando non indicando—Grot. Ut vires nostras—incitemus, &c. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabal. l. 3.*

ficiency to help us, and of our *incapacity* to help ourselves. He that is unwilling to own his necessities, 'tis to be fear'd his *Pride* hinders him, and *Pride* ill becomes a *Beggar*. When a Man is in streights, 'tis a folly and a *fault* not to confess it to a *humane Benefactor*, but 'tis a *Sin* to be fullen and silent before him who is *Divine*. For altho' we may suppose *both* to know what his Condition is without such discovery, yet *both* probably on the same reason will shut their Eyes, because it too often happens, that People do not value the relief which comes unsought, as a Jewel is quickly slighted that cost us nothing: So that this consideration makes Men not over forward to throw away *their* favours, much less is it to be expected that God should *His*. When we are in want and sure of succour if it be desired, would it not be an inexcusable madness to neglect asking it? Certainly he that is thus regardless of his own welfare, deserves the utmost misfortunes that can befall him; and no matter if he continue *Poor* or *Weak* for ever, if he will not be at the expence or uneasiness of a Prayer to beseech God to pity him. And thus you see, interest invites to Address that Almighty Power, which alone is able to do us good. And because we are perpetually wanting something, in some way or other, which we cannot help ourselves to, without his assistance, therefore on this reason we are always to Pray to him. But still 'tis a Duty on another score, because in these Addresses we set forth the *Majesty* and *Goodness* of God, and at the same time *both* Pray to him for our own benefit, and also exalt, and *do him honour*, by declaring before him and all the World, that without him we *are* and can be *nothing*. So that should a *Mental Prayer*, in any Room or in any gesture, be offered, and so well taken as to gain relief to our own wants, yet with respect to God and his Glory, *publick Places*, and another sort

sort of behaviour must be much more requisite and proper. For the Holy Scripture requires us; *To let our Light shine before Men, that they may see our good Works, and be invited to glorifie our Heavenly Father*; And we are to *confess Christ before Men*, that *he may confess us before the holy Angels*: And therefore for these ends, it is very necessary to appear in the *Church on these Days*, allotted the Divine Worship, and acquit ourselves there in such a manner, as may convince all the beholders of the Awe and Reverence, we have for God, which we testify by our *modest and humble carriage*, and of our *dependance* on his Providence, which we signify by *Praying* to him.

Nor doth this in any degree Contradict the Notion of God's Being perfectly happy and perfectly Honourable. For though in strictness of Language, to honour any Person supposes his Station capable of improvement, and presumes a Power in us to give it, as *Honour* is said to *depend on the Honourer*, it being in every Man's Breast to value his Neighbour as he pleases) yet this is not God's case, who is infinitely great, and whose Glory will not admit *more or less* from his Poor Creatures. No, his Majesty is *Essential*, not leaning on the fancy, and will of those under him, like the *Grandeur* of Princes, which stands wholly on the People's *Obedience*: But as for God, 'tis impossible to *Eclipse* his greatness, nor are we able to give it *more Lustre* than what it already hath. So that the words vulgarly understood imply an absurdity, and we seem to forget the Nature of God, when we talk of magnifying him. And truly to look *upwards*, the Language is improper, the *Greatness* of God, like his Nature, being simply unalterable. Yet to look *downwards*, and about us, it may very well pass; and considering the humour and practice of the World, with respect

spect to *them*, we may be said to give Honour to God, though as to *himself* he can receive no Addition, because, whether we will or no, *he is*, and must be *God blessed for ever*. However, we *magnify* him, when we *acknowledge* his *Power* to do all things; his *Wisdom* to Order all things for the best; his *Omniscience*, or Universal knowledge to see and understand very Thought, Word, or Action, though never so silently said, or secretly done; his *Mercy* to pity, and receive an humble penitent; his *Justice* to reward or punish, as Men shall deserve in this Life; his *Veracity* or faithfulness to make good all his Promises; his *Providence* to manage the Universe, and take care of those who rely upon him. ——— And therefore as on the one side, he that *distrusts* or doubts these Attributes, as much as in him lies, *lessens* the Deity, so on the other we *glorify* God, when we both *believe*, and do him this piece of right, which such a one refuses to give him. And when we are found on our knees applying ourselves to him in an open manner, then more especially we proclaim him great, and we show all our Neighbours the Opinion we have of him.

B. What you say is very good. And without scruple the many *necessities* we lie under, call for our *Prayers*: And I am convinced 'tis more for God's Honour; when these Prayers are *publickly* said. And I conceive it hard, to find a Man having such a sense of Religion, as to think it a Duty, to go to the publick Service, but must be perswaded that *Prayer* and *Humility* become the place. Yet possibly those Prayers, to which you give the Name of Divine Worship, are not so well relish'd by tender People, who yet meet and join in what they can, to avoid the danger of *Division*, which weakens the interest of the *Protestant Religion*, and therefore come to *Church*, though they dislike some things, and wish for Amendment. A. So

A. So far well. This was *Beza's* Judgment, who look'd on it Sinful to separate from a Church, wherein *sound Doctrine*, an *Holy Life*, and the *use of the Sacraments* is kept up. And so said not only *Bullinger*, *Zanchy*, and others *abroad*, but our own old *Puritans* at *home*, who asserted in their Writings, that *they* were bound in Conscience to Communicate with the *Church of England*; and to preserve *Union*, go as far as they were able. I wish our *Modern Dissenters* were of the same mind, and follow'd that rule. And the rather, because, I have a Charitable thought, that such Men who comply in *some* particulars have no prejudice against the *Rest*, but are ready to yield as soon as with safety they can. This *partial conformity*, tho' some are apt to call it *interest*, seems to me to be a very good *sign*, for I take 'em to be such as will not lose the opportunity of better information, but are willing to hear what the *Church* can say for herself. And if they find her reasons convincing they may hap'ly at length submit to the *whole*, as hitherto only to some *few points*, more agreeable to their present perswasion.

B. Your sense of these Persons is fair and just. And I am the better pleas'd with what you say, because (to be sincere) I myself have an interest in it. For though ever since my Infancy I have, and will continue in the Communion of the *Church*, wherein I was *Baptized*, yet since my arrival to riper Years, and been able to discern Good and Evil, I have taken liberty to deal with *Her*, as with my *Natural Parent*, whose Milk I sucked, though I can't approve of all her Conduct, yet Duty and Gratitude oblige me to respect her as my *Mother*.

A. What is it offends you? Do not the *Ministers* answer their Character, and perform what might be expected from Men of that *Order*?

B. I object nothing against 'em, but own this to their Credit, that their Writings testify both their Abilities and Courage, in stemming *Popery*, when like a flood it was coming on us, while *Others* (as I took notice) were more *cautious* and *silent*, and would not run the hazard of having their *hands*, and *Names* produced against 'em.

A. Those who know their *History*, and have honesty enough to acknowledge it, cannot but be sensible, what Streams of Blood they have shed since the *Reformation*, to secure us from those Errors, which however, some People disingenuously charge 'em with, and call 'em *Popishly affected*, when weighing the matter without prejudice; they are found to be our *strongest Bulwarks* against *Popery*. And I am almost perswaded, that these Men wrong their own Consciences by speaking otherwise of 'em, for which we not only forgive 'em *ourselves*, but desire *God* to forgive 'em.

B. The little insight I have in the controversy between 'em, makes me look on 'em with another Eye, though perhaps somethings may be used in the *Church*, which seem to tend *that way*. But as for the *Men*, I must confess, as far as I am Judge, they *Preach* and *Pray well*, and all I except against, is, that where there are such excellent *gifts*, 'tis great pity any prescribed *form* should so much hinder, as it doth, the exercise and use of 'em.

A. I cannot see how the *form*, you mean, is any way injurious to the *Ministers gifts*; or why what is read in the *Desk*, should be thought to exclude the *Pulpit Prayer*, when in an orderly manner they succeed one another in the Service, which one might think should be better accepted, because carried on with so much *variety*. And here by the way, let us take notice of the indulgent temper of the present Church, in suffering her *Ministers* to turn *that* into a *Prayer*, which originally was
and

and ought to be, no more than a piece of *instruction*, to let People understand *what they are to Pray for*, and *how well our Liturgy answers that End*. This the *Preacher* insinuates by his *standing* till he comes to the *Pater-Noster*, which in strictness is all the *Prayer* he should say in that place, and which he delivers *kneeling*. All this I say, and more the Church winks at, to invite those who make a shew of tenderness in joining with her, that we might all of us serve God, in the *Unity of the Spirit and the bond of Peace*. But then (1) though I am not against a *Grave, Modest, Discreet, and Humble, use of Minister's gifts, even in Publick*, the better to fit and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the present occasion, yet I know no necessity, why Private and single Abilities should quite jostle out, and deprive the Church of the joint Abilities, and concurrent gifts of many Learned and Godly Men, such as the composers of the Service-Book were, who may in reason be thought to have more gifts and graces, inabling them to compose with serious deliberation, and concurrent advice, such forms of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent Application of their Spirits (wherein consists the very Life and Soul of Prayer) than any private Man by his solitary Abilities can be presumed to have. Thus the Royal Martyr, according to the piety and judgment of all Ages and Churches, which out of their great care to have God gravely and mannerly served, have used the like prescriptions, that so their Children might in sound words express their Devotions. A Man might say a great deal in behalf of these forms in general and of Ours in particular, but that I am prevented by others, who have so well, and so ful-

(1) Ἐκκλ. Βασιλική. c. 16.

ly discoursed on this subject, that now we can only repeat their words: And I wish you had read and considered their reasons.

Perhaps you might think the Argument weak, if drawn from the Practice of *Heathens*, who had their *certain Modes* and Rules of Worship, as appears from *Homer* and *Herodotus*. And whose very *Sacrifices* (in which they observed a constant Order) were but the *Hieroglyphicks* of *Liturgies*, those *unbloody Sacrifices* (m) [*ευχαριστιὰν ἀναιμὰν*] which we make the true God who is more pure than to be pleased with those Abominations. Nor did they look upon the repetition of these Offerings daily done in the same manner, any way unacceptable to their pretended Deities, but was rather a kind of *Confession*, that they thought 'em constant and unchangeable, always the same to consider their wants and answer 'em upon these Addresses. So were they taught by the Light of Nature, and so far the reason holds good with respect to us.

And this was the meaning of the *Jewish Oblations*, and *Rites of Supplication*, whereby they who come to God, would by that means bespeak his favour and acceptance; or rather as so many *deprecations* or forms of Prayer to God, to avert or remove their Calamities; According to that of *Josephus* concerning *Noah*, (n) *who fearing lest God determining destruction to Men should in every Age drown the World, he offer'd Sacrifices, beseeching him that all things might continue in their first Order*—— which last words explain what *Noah* intended by his *Sacrifices*, and that was to beg the Divine Favour. And without doubt in all such cases, as the *Mode* of the Oblation was always the same, so a certain form of

(m) Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 14. (n) Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

words attended the Action, though till the Days of Moses, we are left in the Dark, and can only guess at 'em. But afterwards when that People, like other Nations, came to live under *Constitutions and Laws*, we find 'em directed almost in every thing, and a more especial care was taken, to set 'em *Rules or Canons*, to guide 'em in matters of Religion. And among the rest (as the weightiest of all) *Prayers and Blessings* were prescribed 'em, as we find in (o) several places of Scripture. And it is expressly said of the whole *Book of Psalms*, that it was delivered by David into the hands of Asaph, and his Brethren to this end, (p) *to give thanks unto the Lord, and call upon his Name*. About the incarnation of Christ, the Liturgy of the Jews (besides *Psalms* and *Lessons*) consisted of *eighteen Prayers*, the three first and three last of which concern'd God, and the rest themselves, and their Wants. And these they sometimes said in full length, and sometimes contracted into a lesser bulk, and to all of 'em, the Congregation either subjoin'd their *Amen*, as in the *Synagogues*, or as in the *Temple*, (q) *Blessed be his glorious name for ever and ever*.

Our Lord followed the *Custom* of his Country in this, as in many other things relating to Worship. And as the *Jewish Doctors*, besides the Common-Prayers, had a particular form to distinguish them, and their Scholars: So he was pleas'd to propose that Comprehensive, short Prayer called by his Name, as a form for his Disciples to Pray by. And it was accordingly used by 'em at the Administration of the *Eucharist*, as *Gregory*, and (r) *Plat*

(o) Lev. 16. 21. Num 6 23. Deut 21. 8. and 26. 13. 2 Chro. 29. 30. Joel 2 17. (p) 1 Chro. 16 7. (q) Lightfoot's Hor Heb. (r) *Petrus ubi consecraverat, pater noster oratione usus est.* Plat. in vita Xysti.

tina inform us, though in those times inspired, and directed immediately by the *Blessed Spirit*. And all Churches in the several Ages of Christianity continue it, and look on it as a proof of *their* Liturgies, as we for what is now in practice among us.

B. The Lord's meaning was, to exhibit in those words, the *subjects* and *matter* of all our Prayers, and to show *what* we are to Pray to God for, not that we are to be superstitious, and adhere so strictly to the *Phrases themselves*. For we read in *Matthew*, where he explains himself, that he speaks thus, [*ὥτως*] *Pray in this wise, pray thus*, not in these words, but as we well translate it, *after this manner*———(s) so *Calvin*, and others understand the Text, that therein Christ did not command his Disciples to pray in those very terms, but only set before 'em a *model of Prayer*, to which all their desires and petitions were to refer.

A. The word [*ὥτως*] hath not always that latitude, but frequently signifies so much *exactness*, that there is no room left for the least variation. As in *Numbers*. 6. 23. [*ὥτως εὐλογήσατε*] *Thus or in this wise you shall bless the People*——not by imitating that form of Blessing there set down, or rather taking the matter, and expressing it in words of your own, but you shall bless the Children of *Israel* [*λέγοντες αὐτοῖς*] saying unto them in these words, *The Lord bless thee*, &c. as the *Jews* took 'em, and we retain the same benediction in our Office for the Visitation of the Sick; And I believe, should we bid a Child or Servant *do*, or *say thus*, we undoubtedly mean, that he must *precisely do or say*, what we enjoin him, to the least circumstance or tittle.

(s) *Non jubet suos conceptis verbis orare, &c.*——*Calv*
A Lapide, dies dom. l. 2. c. 10. *Liberum est aliis atque*
aliis verbis eadem tamen in cr. mdo petere——*Aug. ad Prob.*

However,

However, allowing that expression in St. *Matthew* liable to Cavil (as indeed I cannot deny it to be one interpretation of the words) and that it signifies *praying to this sence*, this effect or purpose, (so that keeping this Rule in the substance of our Prayers, we may be thought to answer what Christ design'd in it, though enlarged and worded as ourselves shall judge convenient) yet St. *Luke* represents it in other Language and shows, that not only the *Contents* of the Prayer, but even the *Phrase* its self is to be followed, because it is said, *When you Pray, say our Father* — i. e. not only *Model* all your Prayers according to this I now give you, or not only *Pray after this Manner* — but when you Pray, *use this very Prayer*, the very words of it, and say — *Our Father* — I think, the directions are so positive and clear, that to endeavour to evade 'em, were to call in question, the obligation and force of all other precepts in Scripture, which cannot be more plainly worded than this, *say, Our Father* — or when you Pray, *say these words, Our Father* —

I suppose the mistake might proceed from hence. They who think Christ's meaning, to be no more than that *our Prayers* should be *directed by his*, in the sence and substance of 'em, leaving us to the liberty of our own Language) do take it for granted, that St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, as they account for the *same Prayer*, so they speak of the *same time and occasion*. Whereas by comparing together these two Evangelists, we shall be able to discover, that this Prayer was *twice* delivered, in *diverse Places*, at *several times*, and on *different reasons*. Once it was *proposed* on the *Mount*, and by way of *Sermon*. Afterwards, not while he was *Preaching* to his Disciples, but as soon as he ended *His Prayer* for himself. In St. *Matthew*, he said it *freely*, unasked and of his own accord, consequent

to the cautions in his Sermon against the Hypocrie of the *Jews*, and the vain repetitions and babblings of the Gentiles; But in *St. Luke* it was at the motion, and request of one of his Disciples, who seeing his Master pray, desired a form for them, that they might pray the better. Moreover, according to the circumstances of each Gospel, the one was in the *second*, the other in the *third* year of his Baptism. All which makes interpreters conclude, that the Prayer was *twice* given, both for the confirmation and fuller understanding of it. And a modest Man would thereupon be apt to infer, That because it was delivered at *several times*, but to the *same Persons* (for in that both Writers agree) therefore the *last* account must needs be the *Plainest*, as intended for the satisfaction of some one particular Disciple among 'em, who probably had a scruple on him before concerning its true meaning. And it is not unlikely but the Disciples might think at first, that Christ proposed it in the way of imitation or in opposition to the Heathens, whose Prayers were after *this* or *that manner*, but *yours* shall consist of these or the like petitions. This I say, might be their former conceit; and calling to mind afterwards, what *St. John Baptist* had done for his Followers, in composing a *form of words* for them as well as *matter*, to pray by, that they might not be the *only Sect* or Party of Religious Men, destitute of such an help to Devotion and Piety, they entreat *their Master* to do that for them, which every *Rabbi*, and which the *Baptist* had done for his Disciples, *Lord teach us to Pray* ——— so that for fear they should mistake him again, by any ambiguous or doubtful expression, he was now resolved to speak very intelligibly, *When you pray, say, Our Father* ———

But

But suppose these two holy Writers had consented in the time and occasion of this Prayer, their difference of Phrase is no warrant to reject one of 'em. In this case we follow the Rule of safety; And because the Prayer was *both ways* proposed to the Disciples, we ought to admit it in *both* senses, and consequently *pray after this manner*, in the Prayers we make ourselves or are made for us according to this Model, and withal when we *pray after this manner*, say also, *Our Father*, to sanctify and bless the others. For our parts, we do not so nicely adhere to St. *Luke*, who bids us say, *Our Father*, as to exclude St. *Matthew's*, *After this manner, pray ye*—for if so, we should use nothing but the *Lord's Prayer*, as you know we do, and others have done before us, though all of 'em reducible to this *manner*, so much insisted on. And why our Brethren should take the liberty to pass by the positive words of St. *Luke*, and resolve only on the *manner* of St. *Matthew*, and call our practice *Popish* and *Superstitious*, because we say, as Christ bid us say, *Our Father*—, we know no solid reason for it: And I should be glad to hear any thing from 'em, to satisfy me in this Question. To my thinking, if the *Method* be holy, because Christ set it, and such Prayers be Authentick and Sound, which close with this *Pattern*, *Our Lord's Words*, surely do not *unsanctify* the Prayer, and render the sense less holy than it would otherwise be. On the contrary, because we use both his *matter* and his *words*, such a Prayer seems most agreeable to his own mind; And being sent up to God, not only in his *Name*, but in his *Language*, we may be sure 'twill find acceptance with him. And this appears to be their own meaning, when themselves call that *Speech* the best, which hath most of *Scripture* in it: So that we argue upon their own Principles, that *no Prayer* whatever, can be comparable to the

Lord's, because all that belongs to it proceeded from the Wisdom, and unerring Spirit of God, and on this account carries with it an *irresistible Eloquence*, to charm and move him to grant our desires. Sure I am, to wave all other commentatours, on this place, their *Assembly of Divines* accord with us, in the interpretation of this Passage, and do say, that *Christ did twice at least teach this very Form of Prayer*. And hence it appeareth, that as *this is the most absolute and compleat Pattern of Prayer, comprehending all that we must ask*, so it is *the most exact and sacred Form of Prayer, indited and taught the Disciples, who were to teach the whole World the Rules and Practice of true Religion, by Christ himself who is best able to teach his Servants to Pray* — Again, *Christ prescribed his Disciples this form of Prayer to be used by 'em, not rejecting others, which his Spirit taught or teacheth, but to abridge all necessary petitions into this one summ* — You hear what they say, it was to be a *Pattern* according to *St. Matthew*, and a *Form* as *St. Luke* makes it; it was prescribed the Disciples and used by 'em, yet not restrain'd to their Persons, but as they were to teach the whole World, the Rules and Practice of true Religion. And indeed for this end chiefly, they were taught the Prayer. For as to themselves, there was not that necessity, because, they were inspired, and the *Spirit of Supplication* constantly assisted 'em, but for the *Churches sake*, it was made 'em; And not so made as to exclude all other Prayers, which the Spirit taught or might teach, but as the *brief* of all necessary Petitions, and the summ of what we are to supplicate for, that God may be glorified, and we finally saved.

Incouraged by this *Form*, we find in the Church the Liturgies of several Apostles and Evangelists, as of *St. James*, *St. Peter*, *St. Matthew*, *St. Mark*, and *St. Andrew*; And of many Fathers, *St. Clement*,

ment, *St. Basil, St. Chrysostom* and others. (t) It is recorded of *Constantine the Great*, that he made Prayers for his Army. And in those Apologies the Ancients offer'd to the Heathen Emperours, in behalf of Christianity, they had sometimes occasion to set before those Persecutours the particulars they tender'd God in their daily Prayers; Which is a proof that their Prayers were certain, otherwise it had been a ridiculous representation, and what might provoke their Governours, if they had insisted on the innocency, and goodness of their Prayers, and the Prayers not known to be always the same. (u) It was not then thought, that praying by the Spirit consisted in the inventing of new words, and uttering them with warmth. And it seem'd too great a subjection of the People to the Priests, that they should make 'em join with 'em, in all their heats in Prayer, and would have proved as great a resignation of their Devotion to 'em, as Superstition since bath made of their Faith. And on this account as well as for many other reasons, it was resolved at our Reformation, to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship of God to a fit mean, between the Pomp of Superstition and Naked flatness.

(w) Calvin himself, was so far perswaded of the truth of this point, that he durst not dispute against the necessity of Common-Prayers, though the constant practice of his Romish Adversaries, but ingenuously owns, that as for Forms of Prayer, and Ecclesiastical Rites, he did highly approve 'em, to help the ignorant, and restrain the inconstancy of such who affect novelty. All the Reformed Churches abroad, unanimously subscribe to such a Rule; and though they leave the Preacher so much liberty, as to suit

(t) Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 4. c. 2c. (u) Hist. of the Reformation. (w) Ep. Protectori Angl.

his Prayer to the occasion, yet still they have their *set-forms*, from which they will not suffer their Ministers to vary. And in a word, such hath ever been the notion of these Books in the Catholick Church, that some have been so bold to affirm, that the *Cessation of Liturgies*, would be a Principal (x) *sign* of the coming of *Antichrist*; and if so, some People have brought him very near us.

B. You were speaking of the *Liturgies* of *Peter*, *James* and some others. Do you take them for *Legitimate*, and compiled by those whose names they bear, seeing, as I am informed, they are chargeable with very gross mistakes, as to *Doctrine* and *Chronology*, and contain in them an account of *Persons* and *things*, not to be reconciled to that Age they lived in?

A. I am not a Man of an hard forehead, nor dare I assert any thing for *truth*, when I have not pretty good grounds to believe it so. And therefore to answer roundly, I much doubt their Authority for the reasons you mention, and to examine them severally (†).

In the Liturgy of *St. James*, we read the word, [ὁμοῦσι] *one substance*, often repeated, which was never heard of till after the Third Century, and then brought into the Church to make a distinction, between the *Orthodox* and *Hereticks*, who denied the Son to be of the *same substance* with the Father. And certainly had the Term been of *Ancient* date, than the Council of *Nice*, it had much advantaged the *Catholick Cause*, and the Fa-

(x) Pretiosum corpus & sanguis non extabit, Liturgia extinguetur, psalmorum decantatio cessabit, Scripturarum recitatio non audietur—Hippolytus de Antichristo. & Confusummat. Seculi. Vid. Hieron. in Daniel. (†) De his vide Rivet. Crit. Sacr. l. 1. — Ton. 6. Bibl. PP. & Arndii Lexicon. thers

thers there assembled, had without scruple offer'd this Apostles credit, to affirm the Question so stily opposed by *Arius*, and his party. In this Book we have likewise the [τρισάγιον or *ἁγιάσινδς ὑμνός*] *Holy, Holy, Holy*, and the *Gloria Patri*— of younger standing than the Apostolick times, and in a great measure introduced, to assert and explain the notion of the Blessed *Trinity*. And here the word [Θεοτόκῃ] *Mother of God*, is put for the Virgin; (a) which though some place no higher than the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, to confute *Anastasius* and *Nestorius*, who proposed [Χριστοτόκῃ] *Christ's Mother*, that she might not be accounted the *Mother of God*, (there being about that time, (b) saith *Evagrius*, a controversie in the Church, whether she should be called [ἁνθρωποτόκῃ or Θεοτόκῃ] the *Mother of Man or God*) yet it is evident from (c) *Origen*, that the stile was used before, though not so early as to fix it on St. *James*. The same may be said for the word [Confessours] there mention'd, and recommended in its Prayers, but which had its Birth long after the Death of the Apostles. Which with the like exceptions, gives reason to suspect the Antiquity of that Book. And tho' (d) *Balsamon* speaks of it, as a *Form of Prayer* held in great Veneration by the Christians of *Jerusalem*, and *Palestine* on the higher Festivals, yet, saith he, it is not own'd by us— and for a very good reason, because, as *Bellarmino* objects, *all things in that Piece, have not our Lord's Example, nor precept to support it*.

As for St. *Peter's* Liturgy, we have in it the Names of *Linus*, *Clemens*, *Xystus*, *Cornelius*, *Cyprian*, *Lucia*, *Agnes*, *Barbara*, *Juliana*, and some

(a) Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 32. (b) Lib. 1. cap. 7.
(c) Ep. ad Rom. (d) In Canon. 32. Conc. Trullani.

other Saints, who some of 'em, lived two hundred Years after St. Peter was Martyr'd. And which favours little of an Apostolick Spirit, it begs God's Protection *through the intercession, and for the Merits of Peter and Paul*, who cannot be thought to forget themselves so far as to insert such a clause in the common Liturgy, and let People address God in their Meditations and Names. They therefore who treat of these subjects take little notice of it. *Binius, Bellarmine, and Baronius*, neglect it, and though *Genebrard* speaks of it, yet he charges it with many *interpolations, or amendments* in the *beginning, middle and end* of it, and thereby makes it a very corrupt and fictitious piece.

St. Matthew's is called the *Aethiopian Liturgy*. And in this we have the Names of *Basil, Chrysostom, and Gregory the Great*, the two first of which lived in the Fourth, the last in the Sixth Century. It mentions likewise the Councils of *Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus*, with the *Epaët, and Golden Number*, invented many Years after the Apostles Death. It prays for the *Pope, Patriarchs, Archbishops, &c. Distinctions and Orders* in the Church, a long while after St. Matthew, and of which there was not one Syllable during his Life.

St. Mark was the Apostle of the *Aegyptians*, and having settled a Church at *Alexandria*, he is supposed to frame this Book of Devotion, called by his Name. But though the *Alexandrians* had it in great esteem, (e) as *Balsamon* tells us, yet the Catholics in general rejected it, as a *Spurious Book*, and forbid the *Patriarch* of that City to use it, who promised, saith he, to lay it aside for the future. In this Book, as in that of St. James, we

(e) In Canon: 32. Concil. in Trullo.

have ὁμολογηταῖς—ὑποδιάκον, and Confessors ; as also *Sub-deacons, Singers*, and the like, unknown to the Apostles, and which the Church in those days was not furnished with : And which is very remarkable, there is a Prayer to God, *That he would be pleas'd to protect their City, for the sake of his Evangelist, and Martyr St. Mark, who taught 'em the way of Salvation.* So that plainly St. Mark was dead, because he had been a *Martyr*, before this Prayer was made.

The Liturgy of St. *Andrew*, depends much on the credit of the Authors who mention it, and therefore let us see how it is with them. One is *Abdias*, supposed to be a Disciple, and within the number of the *seventy*, a Follower of SS. *Simon* and *Jude*, when they went to Preach the Gospel in *Persia*, and there by them made *Bishop of Babylon*. A Man so much valued by *Faber*, especially, by *Wolfgangus Lazius*, who brought him to Light, that he did not stick to say, it was a doubt with him, *whether St. Luke borrowed from him, or he from St. Luke*, so well they agreed in the several Passages of the Gospel. He is said to write in *Hebrew* ten Books, of the *Acts* of the Apostles, translated into *Greek*, by *Eutropius*, and rendred Latin by *Julius Africanus*. But were he a Person of such a Figure, and so Ancient as is represented, 'tis strange that neither *Eusebius*, nor *St. Jerom*, nor any other of the old Historians, should give us an account of him. And 'tis as odd, that *Julius Africanus* should turn him into Latin, whom (†) *Eusebius*, and others make a *Greek-Writer*. But most of all it is to be admired, that he should pretend to see *Christ in the Flesh*, and yet commends *Hegesippus* the Historian, (f) who was Co-temporary with

(†) Eccl. Hist. l. 6. c. 31. (f) Euseb. Eccl. H. l. 4. c. 22.
Justin

Justin Martyr, Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, Irenæus, Apollinaris and Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, Aurelius and Verus being Emperours. He saith, that a Temple was built at *Ephesus*, to the honour of *St. John* the Evangelist, yet the Church then, and many Years after was under Persecution, and I think it was not less than two hundred Years, when *Celsus* asked *Octavius* the Question, *(g) Why Christians had no Temples nor Altars?* And 'tis equally incredible what he reports, that there were so early in one Province, seventy five Churches erected for the Christian Service. These things with some ridiculous stories concerning *Gondoser*, a King in the *Indies*, occasion'd *Paul* fourth to reject him as Supposititious. *Salmeron* calls him *(h) Apocryphal*, and so doth *Possévin*, and *Bellarmin*, and *Baronius*. So that we can bestow little Authority on the Liturgy of *St. Andrew*, upon this Writers account, who himself stands on such ill terms in the Opinion of the judicious.

'Tis true, it is again named in another Book, called *the Sufferings of Andrew the Apostle*, written, as is given out, *by the Presbyters, and Deacons of the Churches of Achaia*. And which *Petrus Damianus* owned to be *Authentick*, but is rejected by *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, and *Innocent I.* as composed rather by the Philosophers *Nexochorides*, and *Leonidas*, or some *Manichee* to whom *Philastrius* attributes it, as a piece esteem'd by Men of that heresie.

But then though these exceptions disprove the credit of those Liturgies, yet we cannot deny them their *Grey-Hairs*, and some of the Arguments produced against 'em, make 'em very *Ancient*.

(g) Minutius Fœlix, *(h)* Vid. Sixt. Sen. Bibl. Possév. in Appar. Bellar. de Scrip. Eccl. Baron. ad an. 44.

And to give you my Thoughts concerning their *Names*. It is not unlikely, but that some part (at least) of these Prayers may be owing to those *Apostles*, who are reported to be the *Compilers*. Not that *they* tied themselves to a form of words (excepting that of the *Lord's-Prayer*) because, as their Master promised, they were immediately directed by the *Holy Ghost*, yet *their Disciples* and *Converts*, hearing what was said by those Good Men, in *their publick Devotions*, and digesting it afterwards as well as they could, they thought it prudence and safety to make it a form to themselves, and their Successours, and so gave it the name of *this* or *that Apostle*, from whom they derived the *matter*, and as far as they could remember the *Method* and *Language*. But in process of time, *these Prayer Books* might (as did the Liturgies of *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, &c. of later Ages) receive great *Alterations*, and many things be *inserted*, *added*, or *changed* by Posterity more agreeable to their circumstances. And from hence proceeded the objections before offer'd, which however, to speak fairly, should not call the *whole* into question, seeing the like *variations* and *amendments*, are frequently made in our *English Liturgy*, yet without any reflection on the *first Compilers* of it.

But whether so or no, this is evident, that the Primitive Ages so abounded with Liturgies (as well the *Hereticks* as *Orthodox*) that the Fathers were at length forced to reduce their number, and some of 'em worded with so little Care, that the Third Council of (i) *Carthage*, and that (k) of *Milevis* (at both which *St. Augustine* was present (l) who complains, that some pray'd contrary to the

(i) Canon. 23 (k) Canon. 12. (l) Adv Donat.

rule of Faith) decreed, That no Prayers should be used but what were first seen and approved by the Governours of the Church, lest through inadvertency or ignorance, some thing might be spoken to the disgrace, and damage of the Christian Religion.

B. May not these Councils be said to begin the practice, because the words insinuate, that before that time Men were left to their Liberty, to use what Prayers they pleased, or as *Justin Martyr* speaks, send up their supplications and thanks, (m) according to their Abilities. But for fear any thing should be said amiss, (however under that pretence) the Bishops then assembled made those *Canons* to restrain 'em.

A. Were it so, the reason holds good. For it is the duty of the *Presidents*, and *Pastors* of the Church to take care, that nothing (especially in publick) escapes the Minister's or People's mouth, which may offend the Ears of God, when they are Praying to him. But *their* case was otherwise. For we cannot find that the Christians of those Days attempted such a Liberty, but Persons of all perswasion agreed in the usefulness, and decency of set forms in Prayer, because the want of 'em, saith Mr. Baxter, is apt to breed a giddiness in Religion. And to this purpose we find (n) in a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, many Years before either of the former, that the same Prayers ought always to be said, both in the *Morning* and *Evening Service*. And *Balsamon* saith on the Canon, that the meaning of the Decree was, That it should not be in the Power of every Minister [*εὐχὰς συντάττειν*] to compose the manner of the Service: Or as *Zonaras* represents it, it was not allowed him, to make [*ᾠδὰς*]

(m) *εὐχὰς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὡς δέον ἐστιν ἀνατίθενται*.
Apolog. 2. (n) Canon. 18.

ταύτας λέγειν ἐν ταῖς συναξίν] and read 'em in the face of the Congregation—Which plainly bespeaks a set form, because they did not deliver them *Ex-tempore*, but first compose, and then read 'em before the People. Yet these Prayers were not liked, but the Council required every Congregation to close with *those*, which had been of a long continuance in the Church, and were handed to 'em by their Fathers. And if it was found by Experience, a thing very unsafe to admit the Prayers *contrived*, and *digested* as well as the *Ministers* could, who were thereupon forbid to pray in that manner for the future) the Argument concludes stronger against *such Prayers*, as are made at *random*, when Men, 'tis to be fear'd, sometimes speak what will not bear the Test, if called to an account for it. However here we see, that though the *zeal* of the Ministers, and the earnest desire they had to *excel* one another in the Business of Religion, invited them to these pains of making and using several *forms of Prayer* in, and for their respective Churches (and to be sure used great *industry*, and *caution* to *model*, and *word* 'em well) yet the more *Grave* and *Learned* among 'em, did not approve the *way*, because it tended to disturb and distract the Church of God, and upon that reason thought fit to recal them to the *Old Method*, which their Ancestours had used before 'em,

As for *Justin Martyr's* [ὅση δύναμις] it means no more than that the *Bishop* or *Minister* did, what every Christian ought to do in the like case, pray with all his *Might*, with the several Powers and Faculties of his Soul, with a becoming Zeal, and all the earnestness imaginable. For as we are to love God with all our *Heart*, with all our *Mind*, and with all our *Soul*, and with all our *Strength*; So we are to *Worship* him in the same *Degree*, of seriousness and fervency. And to this end we use a
form

form of Words prepared to our hands, that we may have then nothing to do, but raise our Affections, and apply our Thoughts to what we are saying, the *first* of which would grow very cool, and the *last* be much diverted, and otherwise employ'd, were we put to the care and trouble of *inventing* Language to express ourselves in, to the great hindrance and prejudice of true Devotion. This is what *that Father* meant, or else he had weaken'd the proof of *Loyalty*, which *he*, and the *other Apologists*, offer'd in the remonstrances they made to the Heathen Emperors, wherein they would take off the suspicion of being Male-contents, or disaffected to the Government they lived under, since [ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ, saith St. Chrysostom] they formally pray'd for 'em, *Morning and Evening*, that God would be pleased to give 'em *a long Life, a secure Empire, valiant armies, a faithful Senate, good Subjects, and a quiet World*—— and all this [(o) *Sine Monitore*] without being directed or frightened to it by others, saith *Tertullian*, but purely out of a *Principle* of Christianity, not for *Wrath* but *Conscience-sake*, and in pursuance of that model, St. Paul left *Timothy*, whom he enjoins to make publick Offices for the use of his Province, consisting of these four Particulars, *Supplications* to avert evils, *Prayers* for Beneficial things, *Intercessions* for others, and *Thanks* for Blessings received, as Dr. *Hamond* Paraphrases on the Place. And so SS. *Chrysostom*, and *Ambrose* understood it, who thereupon call it an *Ecclesiastical rule*, set by the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, which our *Ministers* constantly use, and is observed in our Liturgy to this Day.

(o) T rtull. Apolog.

B. I look on the Apostle's Words to be only a Phrase; and that he designs no more in them, than that whenever we pray (whether by form or otherwise) we should take care to remember other Peoples wants as well as our own, and more particularly intercede for such as are in Authority, that God would either convert 'em, or at least incline their Hearts to be favourable to us, that so we may be the better able to do him Worship without Persecution or any other let.

A. True; That may be one sense of the Exhortation: For 'tis very ordinary to add the word [make] to diverse Subjects whereon it has not the least Influence or signification, but what those Subjects give it, As to make a lye, is, to lye; to make excuse, is, to excuse; to make strait, is, to straiten; to make plain, is, to explain; and so to make Intercession, is, to intercede; to make prayer, is, to pray; as in St. Luk. 5. 33. *Why do the Disciples of John fast often,* [*καὶ συνεχῶς νηστεύουσιν*] *and make Prayers,* i. e. Pray? However, the Propriety of the word bespeaks Contrivance, and a Man is said to make a thing, when he gives it Being, or bestows on it a Condition it had not before, as [*ποιεῖν τὰ ἀγάλματα*, and *ποιεῖν βδέλυγμα καὶ ψεύδος*] to make an abomination; and make a lye, i. e. make an Idol or Picture, engrave, paint or form it, either for Ornament or Adoration. And so [*ποιητής*] is a Creator, Artist, Poet, or such a one who not only loves and admires the Art of making Verses, but Composes or Practises in it himself, and endeavours by something new to improve that pleasant invention. In the Holy Scripture we find great variety in expressing this instance of Religion, *I pour out my Prayer*, saith David. *While I was speaking in my Prayer*; so Daniel. But more commonly in the Hebrew, *Pray in Prayer*, or avoiding the repetition, *To say our Prayer* and the like. And as for [*ποιεῖν δεήσεις*]

the Periphrasis seems to carry an Emphasis, and signifies either a *Prayer* then *Composed*, or brought to a Birth when the Suppliant utters it, or rather, because the word insinuates *Care, Pains, Time, &c.* it means a *Prayer*, made for a *standing* rule in the Church, as *St. Paul* here intends it, if the Ancients took him right, who on that warrant compiled their *Liturgies*, and made what he mentions, the several parts of 'em throughout all Ages, *Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks.*

But waving these Authorities, were we only to consider the *Nature* of Prayer it self, we should find *Liturgies* highly *useful*, if not *necessary* to answer the design of it. For the reason why we pray is, to set our case before God, humbly beseeching him to pity and ease us. But then it must be remembred, that this *Representation* of our Condition is made not to *inform* God what our necessities are, but that the formality and care we use in this Declaration, may make in our *Hearts* the deeper sense of our wants, and frame in the Mind a more perfect *Idea* of that *Goodness* and *Power*, we apply to for our relief. Were God to be *taught*, or that his Knowledge of the state we are in depended on our Information, and that he was to be more or less gain'd according to the *Rhetorick*, and *Skill* of our Addressees, then Peradventure the *Eloquence* of the (p) Heathens might Charm, their *Battologies* importune, their *variety* please, and a *fine strain* of Words over-reach him. But alas! He with whom we have to do, under-

(p) *Ethnici habuerunt quasdam preculas verbis picturatis, & rhetoricis flosculis tam eleganter & artificiosè ad persuadendum adornatas, ut existimarent eleganti illa facundia deum ad exauditionem permoveri—Chem. Harm. Evang. c. 51.*

stands both our Necessities, and our Thoughts long before, nor doth he need *our Mouths*, or the Mouths of *Mediators*, to make him sensible of what we suffer, neither do we pray to *tell him*, but to show that we ourselves are convinced of what our case is, of being *Poor, Sick*, or in *Trouble*. Yet we *outwardly* express this in words (and he expects we should do so) that we may be *inwardly* more affected, our desires more inflamed, and that the sense of our Circumstances might make us to value the help the more, when God thinks it seasonable, and fit to give it us.

And this may be called, *praying with the Spirit*, when he inspires us with *feruency* and *zeal*; when he *ingages our Spirits* in that sacred Work, that we may not fall under the Prophets Censure, to be *near God* with our *Lips*, but *far* from him with our *Hearts*; Contrary to *David's way*, whose Heart [First] *burnt within him*, and then he *speak with his Tongue*. For this good Office it is, namely, because of the assistance he gives us in our Prayers (which through the weakness of our Nature, and by the force of many Temptations would be much impeded) that the *Holy Ghost* is called the *Spirit of Prayer*, and *Supplications* in the Prophet: Because, as *St. Paul* speaks, *He helpeth our Infirmities*; and whereas we know not what we should pray for as we ought, *He himself maketh Intercession for us*. But then how this is done, he immediately subjoins, *With Groans that cannot be uttered*. So that this Prayer doth not show it self in the *Utterance*, and *Nimbleness* of the *Tongue*, nor in the *Elegancy* and *Neatness of Expression* (which an Hypocrite may do as well as the best Man in the World) but in the *motions* of the *Heart* and *Soul*, which is beyond the Power of the finest Phrases, *Groans* being *Imperfeſt sounds from within*, showing indeed the concern of the Mind whence they come, but *not declaring*

in the least *what* that concern is, nor can they be understood but by the Searcher of Hearts, who knows our Meditations and Thoughts long before, without the help of Words to represent them.

This then confirms the benefit of *Liturgies*. For seeing the strength, and efficacy of *Prayer* consists in having the *Heart concern'd*; and he is said to *pray best* who *prays most affectionately*, therefore for this end we make use of a *form*, because in this case the votary has nothing else to do, but to Compose his *Heart*, and apply his Thoughts to the Words before him. Whereas were he at the trouble to make his Prayer, and invent Language to express it in, he would by this means certainly *abate*, if not altogether *lose* the vigour of his Devotion, his *Mind* being all the while chiefly employ'd in *Composing*, and digesting his Words, which after all can be no more than the *Shell* and *Body of Prayer*, or indeed rather the *Clothes*, than the *Spirit* and *Life* of it.

Thus as to the *Minister*: But for the *People*, their Condition appears worse: Because, being altogether ignorant of what the Minister intends to say, they are obliged to give the stricter *attention* to him, and so the *Ears* alone being engaged in the reception of what is said, the *Tongue* in the interim has nothing to do, but is *silent*, and *useless* till the Service is over. And for the *Heart*, it has no further business than to examine, sentence after sentence, whether what the Minister delivers, be *sound* and *proper* or no. Which every Man must do, if he has Religion enough in him to consult his own safety. And yet if he does it in any low Degree of care and pains, he must of necessity lose some part of the Minister's Prayer, who still goes on, and proceeds to *new matter*, while the Congregation is perpetually *halting*, to weigh what in their behalf has been offer'd already.

ready. And provided such a Man be so apprehensive and quick, that no tittle of that Prayer escapes him, yet this amounts to no more than the exercise of the *understanding*, and can have no other effect on him than the *Sermon* afterwards has, to better perhaps his *Knowledge*, but wants that which makes it a *Prayer*, at least a Prayer to him. 'Tis true, this is much help'd by *Implicite Faith*; But that Doctrine, as it is not safe in it self, so it has no Credit with *those* who make the Objection. And yet methinks this reliance on *another's Prayer* savours of that *Principle*, and is such an overt-act of the confidence we have of the Ministers being infallibly guided, that no *Romish Priest* can demand more from the greatest Zealot under his care.

B. In my Opinion, this way of Devotion is very edifying. And I find by experience so much *vigour* and *warmth*, in a Prayer affectionately delivered by the *Minister*, that the other comparatively speaking, is *cold* and *flat*, and so little touches the *Heart*, that it scarce enters the *Ears*, or invites to any Degree of attention or concern while the *Reader* saith it. And truly, Sir, to be free with you, this is the reason, I generally come *so late* to the publick Worship, not out of design thereby to affront my Neighbours, who benefit by the *Service-Book*, but because it hath not that good effect on *me*, as on *them*, who yet (if I may say it without offence) notwithstanding their zealous Profession, and adherence to that Mode of Prayer, are very *tardy*, and many of 'em enter *as late* as I. But that which most surprizes me, is, (what I have often observed) that the *Ministers themselves* are very backward in the use of that, which they so much press to the People, and whereby they would be distinguished from the *other Teachers* of God's Word. For they not only forbear reading

the Prayers in their own *Persons*, but most of them go directly to the *Vestry*, and appear not in the *Church*, till the *Psalm* and *Sexton* give notice, they must be moving; which makes me suspect, that the *Prayers* you recommend, are not strictly the *Service of God*, or that *they* think them so, because they deny themselves an interest in *that Service*, and are voluntarily withdrawn till it be quite over.

A. You judge uncharitably. But suppose some few fall under your Censure, yet we ought not to make the neglects of *Men*, the faults of a *Constitution*. Nor are *their* remissness any Plea, to abate our Piety and Zeal at such times. Some, you say, do not read: Others remain in the *Vestry* during the Service, yet *neither* are chargeable with the contempt of the Prayers, as you imagine. For, as to the *former*, they are, it may be, *infirm* and *weakly*, and thereupon unable to go through the *whole Duty*. And in this case, we are to remember, that God is *for Mercy*, and *not Sacrifice*, and they so serve God, as to keep themselves in a Condition to serve him long. Or they are willing to *divide* their *incomes*, and make the preferment they have, a kind of *Nursery*, to train up the Younger sort, in the Ministry of the Church. And at least, to take off *that reflection*, which I have often heard made on them, for *grasping all*, and parting with nothing. It may be added, that there hath been in the Church a difference of *Clerical-Officers* throughout all Ages, among whom the *Readers* had a special Figure, who were the *Deacons* of the Primitive times, and to whose *Voices* a particular regard was had by the Bishops, and other Ministers, that so what was delivered out of the Book of God, might be *distinctly* heard by all the Congregation. To this *Justin Martyr* bears testimony,

testimony, who saith, (q) Upon the Day called Sunday, all the Christians, whether in City or Country, assemble in the same place, wherein the *Memoirs* of the *Apostles*, and the writings of the *Prophets* are read, as long as the time will permit. Then the Reader sitting down, the President of the assemble stands up, and makes a Sermon of instruction and exhortation to the following of so good examples. In a word, because the *Divine Service* consists of diverse parts, and is of a very considerable length every *Lord's-day*, therefore the Ministers use these helps, that each, in his Station, may acquit himself better, and more to the satisfaction and benefit of the assembly. And as for those of the latter kind, you should distinguish before you censure; For it is not the *incumbents* themselves, or very few of 'em go to the *Vestry*, but such *Gentlemen* as come from remote Places, to let us partake of their pains, and who, because of the distance cannot but be late, and are on that account very unwilling by an unseasonable entrance to disturb our Devotion. Or probably the length of their Walk disorders and beats 'em, and therefore may want the convenience of a closer Room, both to cool and recollect themselves before they go to the Sermon. In any of these respects they are very pardonable; and the rather, because in that retirement, they are often found as attentive, and as warmly engaged in the Common-Service, as the rest of the Congregation, with whom they join, though not so openly as in their own Churches at home.

But you speak of them as you find it in your own Case; and because the little haste you make to the Prayers proceeds from your indifferency, and the low conceit you have of their goodness, you

suppose other Peoples absence to be altogether grounded on the same *reason*. But the rule of judging others by ourselves, will not at all times, and in every case hold; and you cannot but be sensible, how fallacious the Argument is from one to all or from few to many. Yet it imposes on your Charity, and makes you think hard of them, who have a great deal to say for themselves, in those seeming Omissions you mention to their disadvantage.

And I am afraid you are as much deceived in that comparison, you made between the two kinds of Worship. For if your affections grow warm at the *Minister's Prayer*, it is Peradventure, not because there is more *Holiness* in what he saith, but you are taken with the *Novelty*. I must confess things extraordinary are commonly very surprising; But let me tell you, they have frequently that Character, not because they are more excellent than what are daily seen, but because they are more unusual, as when we neglect the *Sun* and admire a *Meteor*. The words of the Minister mightily affect you, not because they are more pious, and Proper to signify what he means by 'em, but either their variety Pleases, or their sound Charm you, because you hear without prejudice. But would you with as little pre-engagement or prepossession of Mind consider the difference, I am bold to say, you would discover so much *Holy Elegancy*, so much *Majesty*, such a close Correspondence between the Language, and the wants we express by it, in those forms we use, that if you have any reverence, (as without doubt you have) for the Scripture it self, you cannot dislike or retain a mean Opinion any longer of what is for the most part borrowed from it. 'Tis not in my Thoughts to disparage any Good-Man's Prayer. I have always a Veneration for the Gifts of God where-ever I find 'em.

'em. I hear *our Minister* with as much Devotion as the thing will bear; And because *his Prayer* is now become a *form* by his constant repeating it, I sincerely and heartily join with him. Yet I venture not to say, that the two Prayers equally move me; and I am sure, if he heard me say so, he would not be Angry. But admit the Scales were even, why should we be byass'd and parcial, and slight *one sort* of Prayer more than the *other*? Why not close with the Minister in the *Desk*, as well as in the *Pulpit*, and let our Hearts have an interest in *Both*? Good Children may without offence have a great liking for an honest, diligent and discreet *Servant*, yet I hope none of us have so little sense of Duty, and the respect we owe to the stile of a *Mother*, as to slight the food she provides, purely on the account, *because she provides it*. The Ministers own Prayer *may be good*, but the other is certainly so, and therefore 'tis the best way to attend *both*, but despise *neither*.

But they do not equally affect you, the *one* being languid and flat, in comparison of the *other*. And I believe it true, but the reason is *in ourselves*, and not *in the Prayers*. Our persuasion makes the difference, and we come, as was said with *prejudice*, and coldness to the *one*, and with a resolution not to be concern'd till the *other* begins, and so because of this *partiality*, the impressions are very *unlike*; for the *inclination* draws the *judgment* aside, and where we have no kindness for a thing, it must be understood that the thing did not deserve it. The Minister's Prayer is very *edifying*; And it ought to be so. For his appearing in the *Pulpit*, is on purpose to better us. And as in other Duties he gives us instructions how to discharge 'em well, so as to this of Prayer, he never forgets to put us in Mind of it, as an instance of Religion, wherein God's Glory has an Eminent share. And
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if his words commence a *Prayer*, it is to quicken his *Exhortation*, and show by *his Example* what we are to do, and how to acquit or behave ourselves in it.

But I conceive your Language of *Edification* is not well examined, for though it be intended an *Objection* against the Liturgy, it rather confirms and proves the *use* of it. It is a *Metaphor* borrow'd from *Building*, and as it is or should be applied to *Prayer*, it is the *conspiring* or *consent* of several Persons in a *Congregation*, to send up a *Petition* to *Heaven*, and with one *Heart*, and one *Mouth* glorify *God*. Now though a form of *Prayer* may be very convenient at *home*, in our *Chambers* or *Closets* to express our *Thoughts* by, in case we do express 'em, (because having no care to order the *Words*, our *inward concern* may be so much the greater) yet in a *Publick Meeting* this is much more necessary, because if we know not what the *Prayer* is the *Minister* offers, how shall we be able to give our *Suffrage* to it? But if we differ, and say each Man a *several Prayer* for himself, then the notion of *Edification* is utterly lost, or very ill applied, when there is not that *Union of Souls*, (as of many stones or Bricks in an house) in that Address we send up to *God*. This is very far from that *Holy Violence*, the *Scripture* mentions, of laying *Siege* to *Heaven*, and the force must be very little when the *Spirits* of the supplicants are distracted, and weak'ned for want of agreeing better together. But by *Edification* you mean *Improvement*; and the *Minister's Prayer* adds to your *Devotion*. And here I wish you be not mistaken. For suppose *his Prayer* should cause some *Motions* in your *Soul*, and that you are much pleas'd with what you see and hear from him, yet consider, that though the *Minister* may in this manner do *his Duty* well, and serve *God* to the Admirati-

on of those who are *Witnesses* of his *Zeal*, yet where is *your Worship* all this while, and how do you serve God in your attention to *him*? The concern you are work'd to at such a time, is an *effect* of the *Minister's Prayer*, but not, as it ought to be, a *quality of your Own*. Devotion is active. When we pray we make a *Speech* to God; and that it may prevail, we deliver it decently, and as zealously as we can. But how can this be applied to you, who are purely *passive* while the Minister Prayeth? For though it should happen he stirs your affections, yet that is all; and you are in the Condition of Men under *surprize*, who are ravish'd with some *uncommon object*, yet at that instant have no room for *reflection*, and the sight makes 'em neither *wiser* nor *better*. In short, the most that can be said of your warmth is, that thereby you show you like the *Minister's praying*, but what is this to yourself, and how in his Devotion do you express your *Own*?

B. That is easily Answered; Because, the *Minister* is the *Mouth* of the Assembly, and for that reason *his Prayer* is *ours*, and the *Amen*, which concludes it doth *sign* our consents.

A. The *Amen* at the end of the Prayer is not sufficient of it self to entitle us to it, unless the *Heart* throughout the whole exercise has bore it Company, the best ingredient of Prayer consisting in the *inward desires*, and affections of the Soul. Besides, when we subjoin *Amen*, we thereby assert the truth of what has been said; we declare, that our Condition has been *faithfully represented*, and we wish it may succeed and be answered according to what is said in it. And how can this be supposed in a long *Extempore Prayer*, where the hearers *Memory* must be very extraordinary to retain all the parts of such an Address, the *apprehension* quick, and the *judgment* ripe to determine
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the goodness of it. Moreover we say *Amen*, not to convince God of our concurrence in such a Prayer, but for a *Testimony* to one another, that we have been all the time busied in the publick Devotion, *minded* it as we say, and made it our *own* by a silent and mental repeating it. For tho' it is not Convenient that every single Votary should be as *loud* as the *Minister*, which is the reason we only say *Amen* to avoid noise, confusion and disorder, yet the very Word implies, that our *heart* has pray'd with the *Minister* all the while; and if not, neither *his prayer*, nor our *Amen* is of any benefit to us. The Minister is the *Mouth* of the Congregation; True, but be it remembred that the Office and Duty of a *Mouth*, consists in uttering *Audibly* and *Faithfully*, what the *Mind* has conceived within; and to make the Language proper, there must always be a close Correspondence between 'em. So that this Character therefore shows that the *Minister speaks* no more than the *People's Thoughts*, and what themselves would declare with their *own Voice*, if they might not be troublesome to one another. And here I must not omit the danger of confiding too much in the *Minister's Prayer*, for fear by the *same imputation*, whereby we would make what is good in his Prayer, our own, we may be forced to own likewise what he saith *amiss*. For let his *Office* be never so *Holy*, there can be no security of his *Person*. *Judas* was one of the *twelve*, but he was a *Devil*. If you think your self safe from the experience you have both of the *Man* and his *Prayer*, this I confess a solid Answer, but then it presumes you have not only known the *Minister*, but heard his *Prayer* often before, (there being no other way in this case to satisfy Conscience, than to ground its safety on such an *Experience*) and if so, you give up the Cause, his *Prayer* so repeated being made a *form* to the Congregation that hears him.

him. So that the *Question* is reduced to this, Whether a *Prayer* made and revised by *many*, is not much better, than what is composed by *One*? For if it be true, that *in the multitude of Councillors there is safety*, can we imagine but that the *publick Liturgy* must needs have the precedence, when there has been so much care, and all other likely means taken for its sufficiency and goodness?

B. How can this form of Worship be reconciled to the Apostle's *Praying by the Spirit*?

A. You have the Phrase from *St. Paul*, *1 Cor.* 14. where though he gives two interpretations of those Words, yet neither of 'em contributes to your Objection. The *first* is, *praying in an unknown Tongue*, a faculty bestow'd on the Disciples of Christ, for the publication of the Gospel by *immediate Revelation* from Heaven; And therefore those who prayed in that manner, were said to *pray by the Spirit*: A way of praying if not *opposed* to, yet very much *distinguished* from praying with the *understanding*, as we may see, *v.* 15. *What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also*—but more plainly, *v.* 2. where *speaking in an unknown Tongue*, and *speaking by the Spirit*, interpret each other. A sort of praying or preaching so little edifying, that *St. Paul* declares, he had rather speak *five words* otherwise, than *ten thousand* such to the People. *v.* 19. The other meaning of *praying by the Spirit*, is, when his Heart was engaged, and his Spirit prayed, *v.* 14. *I will pray with the Spirit, and my Spirit truly prayeth*——i. e. though he pray'd in an *unknown Tongue*, his Spirit prayed, and did it effectually as to himself, because he knew what he said, and his Soul and Spirit join'd in the Service. But still with respect to others this way was unfruitful; and being altogether for *Edification* in this Chapter, he was clearly for that kind of Prayer,

to which all the People could say *Amen*, and in which the Congregation might be as much concern'd in *their Spirits*, as he was in *his*, while he pray'd in an *unknown Tongue*. So that the Authority of this Text, is of little use to support your notion; Because as to the *first* way of praying, it ceased long ago, as being by Miracle and the infusion of Tongues. And the *latter* being yielded makes nothing against us, because we hold, that in every Prayer *our Spirits* must have an interest, or else we are sure to pray in vain.

It is to be wished, that the Spirit we so much speak of, and pretend to pray by, be not mistaken. For there is a Spirit of affectation and pride, which is apt to delude and make us believe the *Gifts of Nature* to be *the fruits of Grace*, and habits divinely inspired, and if a Man has assurance enough with a plausible faculty to vent his conceptions, he is presently endow'd with a *Prophe-tick* Talent, and all he speaks must be understood, as if he was moved by the *Holy Ghost*: When perhaps an *Atheist* or an *Hypocrite*, may deliver himself in a dialect full as holy, and yet have so little interest in the Spirit of God, as not to deserve the Christian Name.

To me it appears not only *modest* and humble, but *prudent* and safe to distrust ourselves in a thing of this consequence; and remembering how many and great our Infirmities are, and what the Majesty of God is whom we Address to after this manner, 'tis better surely to use the sound words wise and good Men have furnish'd us with, than to offer such as (though never so carefully composed by ourselves,) must make us doubt, whether we pray well by 'em or no. For the Doctrine we profess denies *infallibility*, or *private inspiration* in these Days: Yet this we are pretty well perswaded of (God having engaged his Word for it) that
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the Holy Ghost shall never fail the *Body* of his Church; and therefore what that *Body* presents to us, falls under the less suspicion of being erroneous.

B. The *Papists* talk thus, and make their Church the *Pillar and Ground of Truth*; And thence take occasion to obtrude upon us, what they please on pain of Damnation. And to deal above board with you, though for the reasons you have given, I was never very averse to a *form of Prayer* in the Publick Worship of God (and therefore am not angry at what our Minister saith, though constantly the *same*) yet the Common-Prayer we daily use being fetch'd from a Church, which all Parties among us confess full of Corruptions, is indeed an offence to me on the account of what our Lord saith, *Of thorns, Men do not gather Figs, nor of a bramble Bush, gather they Grapes. A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit---* So that our Service-Book being little more than a Copy of *theirs*, whose Communion we reject for their manifold Errors, how can it be suspected, we should Heartily join in such a piece of Devotion, and say the Prayers, such ill Christians have made to our Hands?

A. The *Corruptions* of the Church of *Rome*, we call *Popery*, are of a low date in Comparison of the times, when Liturgies began in that Province, and other Places of the World, where the Gospel was settled. It was the care and piety of our *Fathers*, at the *Reformation* of Religion in this Kingdom, not to *Destroy* the Church of *Rome*, but *restore* her to that purity, which she retained for several Centuries, and was so much commended by *St. Paul*, who thanks God, *through Christ Jesus*, that her faith was spoken of throughout the World—

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And this Apology we of this Church have for ourselves in what has been done, that the fault and charge of Schism is simply, and altogether her own, because she left herself, and not we her, the Church of *England* continuing what she once was, and what in honour, and safety to herself she ought to be again. And as in diverse other instances, so in this of the Liturgy, our *Reformers* corrected what they found amiss; and separating the *Gold* from the *Dross*, they expunged what was spurious and novel in the service, and retaining the useful and wholesom part, they translated it into our own Tongue, that as we were no longer to believe, so neither to pray implicitly.

But what if it be proved, that our Liturgy has another Original? For we find in a *Cotton-Manuscript*, that *Germanus*, and *Lupus*, brought into the *British-Churches*, *Ordinem cursus Gallorum*, by which Archbishop *Usher* understands the *Gallican Liturgy*, which very much differ'd from the *Roman*, as we may conclude from that Question, *Austin* the Monk put Pope *Gregory*, Which of 'em he should follow? and answer was made, That he should chuse what he thought most proper for the *English Church*. Accordingly the first was preferred; and the rather, because, the *Queen* was a *Christian* before *Austin* came hither, and had been used to the *French Liturgy* (which some Authors derive from *St. John*, by *Polycarp* and *Irenaus*) so that she, and her Bishops being *French*, it had given great offence, to take that form of service away, which they had brought along with 'em, and which the *British Church* had now for some time been accustomed to. As to the several parts of it, I refer you to Bishop *Stillingfleet's* Book, called *Origines Britannicæ*, c. 4. All which are retain'd in the Offices of our Church; not from *Rome* as our Dissenters imagine, but from the con-

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sent of all the Ancient Churches, which she also follows by putting them into a Language understood by the People. The agreement between this and the *Gallican* Liturgy, you will find in that Author; From whose discourse it appears, that our *Church of England*, as it introduces nothing New, so it hath omitted none of those Offices, wherein all the *Old Churches* agreed; And in case of difference, we adhere to the *Gallican*, and not to that from *Rome*. But grant it otherwise, that some of the materials came from the *Roman Missal*, why should not this be considered, as it really in it self is, a Testimony of that prudence and good temper our *Reformers* show'd in compiling it, who, to draw the *Papists* into their Communion (then the only Dissenting party, and whose Conversion they desired) they kept as near 'em as they safely could, and by that means brought many of 'em over, and had better succeeded, but that the *Pope* sent a *Bull* hither to separate 'em from us. But still 'tis the *Mass-Book* a little refined. This is an objection may make a great noise among unthinking People; But can serious and judicious Men lay any stress on it? (a) *Whatever the Pagans themselves, (as St. Augustine speaks) had in their Doctrine divine and just, our Saints refuse it not; nor is the consideration of any force to frighten Catholicks from doing a thing, because Hereticks have done the same—*(b) *A Novatian presumes to do it; what then, must we therefore forbear it? He hath usurped the honour of the Chair, shall we therefore abandon it? He hath against all right and reason set up an Altar, and would do Sacrifice on it, are we therefore to lay aside ours both Oblations and Altar? It is a foolish and ridiculous conceit, that, because a Novatian*

(a) Adv. Donat. Ep. 154. (b) Cypr. Ep. 73. n. 3.
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challenges to himself the shadow of Truth, we must therefore reject the Substance, and take leave of the Truth, that we may not in any respect appear like him. — Truth is of God, though utter'd by Balaam or a Sibyl. (c) Nor is a Diamond or any other Jewel less precious, though it be smear'd over with dirt, or found on a dunghill. What admirable pieces of Morality and Politicks do we hourly read in the Writings of Pagan Greece and Rome? Are these Books to be burnt, because Plato and Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca, or the like penned 'em? Surely 'tis no Crime to use the Light of the Sun and Moon, though our Ancestours adored them. And for my part, I should no more scruple to speak to God in a good Prayer, made by a Dominican or a Jesuit, than according to your Metaphor, to eat the Fruit of a Tree, planted by a Moor or a Mabumetan. We do not find King (d) Solomon, unwilling to send to Hiram King of Tyre for Cedars and Workmen, for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem; nor that the structure was accounted less holy, because the materials and Builders were Heathen. Many of our Churches in this Nation we owe to the Zeal and Purfes of our Popish Predecessours, yet we safely Worship in 'em: And herein we follow not only the Judgment of (e) St. Augustine, who declares, that even the Idol Temples, when devoted to the Honour and Service of the true God, may be as well used and accepted, as Infidel People converted to Christianity; but even the (f) directory warrants us in this particular, and saith, that whatever the builders of our

(c) *Quasi aurum non sit aurum quod in luto quaerimus.* Reuchlin. de art. Cabbalist. lib. 2. (d) 2 Chro. 2. 7, 8. (e) Epist. 154. (f) An Appendix, touching Days and Places for publick Worship.

Churches were, yet the places are not subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render 'em unlawful or inconvenient for Christians, to meet together therein for the publick Worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the Places of publick Assembling for Worship among us, should be continued and employ'd to that use——

The Water of Baptism, and the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist were Elements prophaned by the Gentiles, yet they are the signs and matter of our Christian Sacraments, and made the ordinary means of Salvation, notwithstanding those abuses. A Man might abound with these illustrations to remove the Calumny. But after all, prejudice is clamorous, and Persons otherwise bent are apt to let go truth, rather than be supposed to have been in an Error. So that we must still be told, that our Liturgy is the *Mass-Book* in *English*, a New Edition of the *Breviary*, and all their *Rituals* reduced to a lesser Volume. And were there any truth in this charge, the compliance is not Sinful; Because, we take from the *Papists* no more than what they had from others, who never knew what *Popery* was. And as in common we Both receive the Scriptures of the Old Testament from the hands of the *Jews*, notwithstanding the Additions, and corruptions of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*: In like manner, we have the matter and model of the Service of God by their conveyance. But as for the excesses of *Ave-Maria's*, *Prayers for the dead*, *Addresses to the Saints*, &c. these we have separated from what is *Old* and *Legitimate*, and curing the *Diseases* of the Church and Service, our *Reformers* have restored 'em to the features, and vigour of the *ancient* and *purer* times. And if this answer be not sufficient, we shall be hard put to it to defend the practice of reading the Bible it self,

which we enjoy from, and by *their means*, and which *they* retain, and use as well as *we*.

We do not beg all this. Let the *Book* be examined, and see what there is in it of any affinity with that *Popery*, wherewith it is vulgarly charged, and which you think deserves your Censure. The *Sentences*; The *Pater-Noster*; The *Venite exultemus*, or *Pf. 95*. The *Psalms*; The *Lessons*; The *Benedictus*, or Song of *Zachary*; The *Jubilate*, or *Pf. 100*. The *Magnificat*, or *Virgins Hymn*; The *Cantate Domino*, or *Pf. 98*. The *Nunc Dimittis*, or Song of Old *Simeon*; The *Deus Misereatur*, or *Pf. 67*. The *Decalogue*; The *Epistles* and *Gospels*; And the *Blessing*—These are every one of them *literally* Scripture. The *Te deum*, has that Noble prelate *St. Ambrose* for its Author, a Divince piece, and above 200 Years older than *Popery*; And near his time lived *St. Chrysostom*, whose Prayer goes before the *Benediction* of *St. Paul*. The *Creed* was framed either by the *Apostles* or *Apostolical Men*; To be sure the several *Articles* and *Heads* of it, are such as to Merit that name, and are without gain-saying the *Apostles Doctrine*. And to explain *this*, were added, the *Athanasian* and *Nicene*, occasionally penned to assert, against the Hereticks, the God-Head of Christ, and the Blessed Spirit; And it savours too much of *Socinianism*, to be so loud in crying 'em down. The remainder of the Worship consists in grave *Exhortations*, *Confessions*, or in the *Gallican* stile, *Apolgies*, *Prayers*, *Supplications*, *Intercessions*, and giving of thanks for all *Men*, especially those of the *Catholick Church*, or the Household of Faith, for *Kings*, and those who are in *Authority*, whether in Church or State, according to *St. Paul's* Directions, and the Prayers so well composed, that we give 'em the name of *Collects*, meaning the *Collection*, and joining together Phrases of Scripture orderly digested,

gested, to set our necessities and desires before God, as near as we can in his own Language. And when that is wanting, we supply ourselves out of the Devotions of those Fathers, whom envy it self cannot deny to be both *Ancient* and *Pious*. Our *Litany*, our *Responses*, our frequent speaking to the Assembly, to quicken their attention, these and the rest, have the venerable examples of the first Ages of *Christianity*, to justify our Practice. And the *Apologists* for it, are so able and numerous, that if the Adversary is not convinced, it must be malice, or because he is a Stranger to their Writings. And certainly in it self, and from them it appears to be g) a form of *Divine Worship* of so good quality, as that since the *Holy Apostles Days*, the *Christian World* never enjoy'd a more reverend and religious ——— And though all Churches had their respective Liturgies, yet none was ever Blessed with so comprehensive, so exact, and so inoffensive a composition, so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their Knowledge and Devotion, and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding; so full, that nothing is omitted fit to be ask'd in publick; and so particular, that it comprizes most things which we would pray for in private; and yet so short, as not to tire any that have true Devotion. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; Its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the *Christian World* agree in 'em. Its method is exact and natural; Its language significant and perspicuous, most of the words and phrases being taken out of Scripture; And the rest are the expressions of the first and best Ages. So that whoever takes exceptions against these, must quarrel with the Language of the *Holy Ghost*, or fall out with the Church in her greatest Innocence. In a word, 'tis

(g) Dr. Comber's Preface to his Companion to the Temple.

so little a Friend to Popery, that fair and judicious Men consider it as a Wall of defence against the Superstitions of that polluted Church. And were it not really so, what made the Priests in Queen Mary's Days give it that hard usage, as not only to burn (b) those who made this Book, but to Martyr the Book it self, and throw both it, and the Compilers into the Fire? To this end, a Proclamation was set out by the King and Queen, June 13, 1555. for the restraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church——Whereas by the Statute, made in the second Year of King Henry IV. concerning the repressing of Heresie, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the Authors, Makers and Writers of Books, containing wicked Doctrine and Erroneous, and Heretical Opinions contrary to the Catholick Faith——The King and Queen, our Sovereign Lord and Lady, therefore——straitly charge and command, that no Person or Persons presume to bring, or cause to be brought into this Realm any Books, Writings and Works hereafter mentioned——Containing false Doctrine contrary, and against the Catholick Faith——Also that no Person or Persons presume to Write, Print, Utter, Sell, Read or Keep, or cause to be Written——any Book or Books written or printed in the Latin or English Tongue, concerning the Common Service, and Administration set forth in English, to be used in the Churches of this Realm, in the time of King Edward VI. commonly called the Communion-Book, or Book of Common-Service, and ordering of Ministers, otherwise called the Book set forth by Authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments——but shall within 15 days

(b) This Book was penned by those that shed their Blood, and Sealed it with their lives——Lord Keeper Finch's Speech to the Judges, Feb. 13. 1639.

after publication of this proclamation bring or cause to be brought the aforesaid Books, to the Ordinary of the Diocese, or his Chancellor, or Commissary ——— to be burnt. Such were the Men that formed this Excellent Work, and such the Usage this and they had from those Papists whom we are suspected to imitate in this way of Service. Yet it is the *Mass-Book* in English, *Risum teneatis?* Methinks I am concerned that any protestant should so zealously espouse and carry on the cause of the common Enemy by these groundless surmises, and honour Popery so much as they do, by attributing to so corrupt a Church that admirable Service, which Calvin liked so well, and Grotius among other Foreigners, so highly commended as the best Copy of the Old and best Liturgies.

B. I cannot but own, those hardships you spake of are good testimonies, that neither our *Reformers*, nor the *Service-Book* were welcome to the *Papists*. And truly it doth not seem very credible they would treat the Common-Prayer-Book in that rough manner, if it had been their proper issue. I'll give you no further trouble therefore on that score to add to its vindication, nor will I offer those exceptions many have made in my hearing, and which tho' they have some weight are not powerful enough to induce me to condemn it. As for example, *The applying of the Hymns* we find in the Gospel, especially the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc dimittis* they think very improper; The response after the Creed, when we pray for Peace in our time, *because there is no other fighteth for us but only thou, O God*, seems an odd reason for God to grant our petition, as if his help and protection were not sufficient under any Circumstances; but because in War he alone Fighteth for us, therefore we beg of him to send us peace. Then they complain that the Prayers are short and constantly the same;

That the *variety of gestures* during the worship show light and comical; That the reading of the *Lessons* without exposition is altogether unedifying; and that the whole Service being transacted by the Minister in a *Surplice* favours of Superstition. That which more offends me, are those *Tautologies* always used and said in defiance of our Lord's prohibition, when instructing his disciples how to pray well, he bids them *(i)* not use *vain repetitions*, as the heathens do, who think they shall be heard for their much speaking;---which agrees with the better sense of mankind, as we read in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, *(k)* Use not, saith that Author, many words in a multitude of Elders, and make not much babling when thou prayest; *(l)* nay it is in the Greek do not say the same words twice in thy Prayer. But with more authority the preacher admonishes, *(m)* Be not rash with thy mouth and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in Heaven and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few.--And truly as it looks unmannerly to be thus troublesome in the presence of sober men; So in my judgment, the presumption is greater to address God in this manner, to whom we ought to speak in few, and proper Words, and not tire his Wisdom and Patience with what would be very *(n)* nauseous and unpleasant to Men. And to this may be reduced the often saying of the Lords-Prayer. For tho' I know it necessary to Pray and pray often, and tho' I know that in a few Words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a Prayer, and that the Church doth well to join the Lords-Prayer to her own;---yet I stand upon this, That there is no necessity to use it

(i) Matth. 6. 7. *(k)* Ecclu. 7. 14. *(l)* μὴ δευτερότης λόγων ἐν προσευχῇ σου—*(m)* Ecclef. 5. 2. *(n)* Quod molestum est & iædiosum coram Deo sicut battologia est eruditum auribus—Chemnit. Harmon. Evang.

so frequently in that small proportion of time we dedicate to God's service, and the so much insisting on it seems to me to tend to Superstition.

And as these *reiterations* in Prayer insinuate to the World a great barrenness in us to express Devotion, and withall infer with what difficulty our petitions are heard, which must be said over and over again, to make God understand them; So the custom of some Churchs sounds very odd by *Voice*, and *instrument* to chant the Service, even those parts of it, wherein we confess our Sins, and supplicate for pardon. This does not only make the worship *unintelligible* to the Votaries themselves, but perswades us to believe, that God is more taken with the *harmony* of Prayers than the *matter* of them, and supposes that we must *charm* him with the *Musick*, before he will be brought to hear, and relieve us in those wants we set before him. If a *common beggar* in the street should accost me in that Sort, I might be apt to think his greatest *want* to be in the *Brain*, and consequently the best instance I could give of my Charity would be, to have him to *Bedlam*. Men in Prayer are under this notion; And therefore, *Sir*——I need not many Words to apply it; you may guess my meaning.

A. I do guess what you intend; and am very sorry to hear you. But to consider your Objections as they lie in order: And first for them which you report from others, and which, tho' not in the same degree as those lastly proposed, yet still have an influence on you, and ought therefore to have some share in the answer. But before I begin, let me tell you a short Story. Once upon a time, it fell out, that a Friend of mine dined with a Wealthy Citizen, not long after *Sheriff* of *London*. Part of the Table-Discourse was concerning the Liturgy; against which he produced this exception; That in the Deprecations 'tis said,
from

from Fornication, and all other deadly Sin, Good Lord deliver us,----as if, saith he, Fornication were not a deadly Sin. Yes, answer'd my friend, the expression calls it so, from Fornication and all other deadly Sin, so that Fornication is one of the deadly Sins, and the only one named; and being so named puts it out of Question. He said it was ill Worded and ought to be mended. I perceive you smile at the Objection, and so did I when I first heard it, but it yielded Matter for a very serious reflection: And we hereupon concluded, That it must needs prove a fruitless attempt to alter our way of Service, because it seems an impossible thing to please every body. For whether this was a defect in the *Understanding* or *Will* of that Gentleman I know not, but no doubt he would expect that *his Exception* should be taken notice of, as well as *other Peoples*; Otherwise you incense him the more and confirm him in his Error, wherein we may suppose he was not alone. To tell him his scruple was groundless, he will answer, That in other mens opinion the rest are so; and if *they* are indulged, why not *he*? So that plainly, as there would be no end in finding faults, so not to redress them *all*, is to do *nothing*. And if every Cavil should be minded, farewell the whole Liturgy. Yet I am not against doing any thing in reason, to gain over our brethren, that we might all serve God in the *same way*. But first I wish they could *all* agree in the exceptions, which hitherto was never done, and perhaps will never be till *Elias come*.

B. But was not the Gentleman mistaken, who probably intended no more than to find fault with the Word [*deadly*] as favouring too much the Popish distinction, between Sins *Venial* and *Mortal*, as if *every Sin* was not deadly, and exposed a Man to Damnation?

A. There

A. There was no mention of this; and though it be objected by some, who thereby would reduce us to the *Mass-Book*, yet 'twas omitted by him, who perhaps thought that exception as frivolous as you and I take the other to be. For what saith St. *John*? *there is a Sin unto Death and a Sin not unto Death*, 1 *John* 3. 16, 17. And 'tis evident, that some Sins are not so bad and desperate as others. In this place *deadly Sins* mean *presumptuous ones*; and as in the Petition before we beseech God to deliver us from more secret Sins and such as more immediately respect the Heart, as *Pride, Uncharitableness*, and the like, so here we pray against open and scandalous Crimes, and such gross acts of wickedness, as show the Sinner harden'd in his way, and which ending for the most part in an impenitent State must bring him to damnation at last. Of this kind *Solomon* represents *Fornication*, Pro. 2. 19. *None that go unto her return again nor take hold of the paths of life*——So that though *all Sins* are in their own nature *Mortal* without repentance, as being violations of the Divine-will, yet there are degrees in our disobedience, and Repentance is not so difficult of some Sins as of others, and we beseech God to deliver us from the latter.

And here since I am so near it, let us not pass by the next petition which some People condemn, and wherein we pray against *sudden Death* as a very sad Event to endanger the Soul. For tho' we ought all of us so to live as if every minute were to be the last, yet who of ten thousand takes this care and in perfect health, strength and other enjoyments of *this world*, so thinks of *another* as to be always provided for it? Alas no; the influence of these temptations are so powerful, that they too much ingage the Heart, to let us prepare for futurity. But when Sickness comes, it puts

us on thinking ; Then we begin to consult the after Peace of our Families, and settle our Affairs both with respect to God and Man. And though we feel the *pain* of our Disease great, yet we consider the *Torments* of Hell greater, and *those* we take for warnings to avoid the *latter*. *Sudden Death* may be thought an easie *exit*, if we had nothing to do but to die (though after all, what Wiseman would wish it before his House be set in Order, and who does that till he has one foot in the Grave?) Yet remembring there is another World ; that there is *after Death the Judgment* ; that Death is not so much the leaving of this Life, as the entering into another: He, I say, that calls these things to Mind, may easily Credit, that the Church knows his case, and takes more care of him than he does of himself, by beseeching God not to let him be hurried out of this World, either by an untimely Death, or violent Death, or an unprepared Death, which will in all likelihood end very dismally in that to come.

1. But to return to your Objections: And first for the *Hymns* you proposed. They are always used after the Lessons, wherein having heard God say to us, something relating to Salvation, we think it our Duty to show our *gratitude*, and joy in some *Hymn of Praise*; And if we use *those words*, the Holy Ghost composed, and where-with good People heretofore Praised God on the same occasion, where is the harm? 'Tis true, the *Magnificat* was said by her, who was Christ's Mother, and it more immediately refers to *her Person*, and the favour done her, yet the same Hymn saith, that *the Mercy of God is on them that fear him throughout all Generations*. We are concern'd in it as well as she; And tho' the Virgin bore him *literally* in her Womb (which was an honour the greatest Matrons in *Israel* expected, and call'd for her
acknow^e

acknowledgments that had it) yet if *St. Paul* speaks properly, *Christ may be formed in us likewise*: Nay, our Lord has told us, That he who hears the word of God, (as he should) is *his Brother, Sister and Mother*: So that being brought under the *same relation* with her, why may we not use the *same form* of words, to magnify the Blessing? The like may be offer'd for the *Nunc Dimittis*, which was said by old *Simeon*, when he saw *Christ* with his Eyes, and held him in his Arms, and then was contented to go immediately to that Salvation, which by this means he was ensured of. What he did in a *sensible way*, we may do by *Faith*, and when we use the Language of the Spirit, we use it in a way applicable to us. A Man that is sure of his Salvation, and desires to enjoy it, why may he not pray with *Simeon* to depart, or with *St. Paul* to be dissolved, and be with *Christ*, which is much better than living here. It favours not a little of what we call *Carnal*, when a *Christain* is not willing to utter such a Prayer. However, this Hymn need not give offence, because the words do not import a request to die, but testify our belief, that if God thinks fit to let us depart, we are well satisfied, and go in Peace, because our persuasion is that we go to an happier State. It bespeaks indeed somewhat of Resignation to the Will of God, and the confidence we have in his Mercy, that when we die we hope he Will make us Happy, but it does not imply that at all such times we sollicit for Death, though I know no reason why we should not do it, if we have a fair prospect of Eternity.

2. In the *Versicles* we pray for Peace, because there is no other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God ——— which is understood as a disparagement of the Power of God, that we pray for Peace, because he alone fights for us, as if that were not sufficient

sufficient to do our business. But this [*because*] does not so much refer to *God* as *Man*, in whom we can have no assurance of safety, though he promises well, and will fight for us. And therefore because there is no other that fighteth for us, with certainty of success, unless God is on our side and fights our Battels, we beseech him to send us Prosperity and Peace, which are the ends we design by War, and which if God pleases we would have without it. This is the meaning of the response, and where the sense is so full, I know not how it can be Worded, with more conciseness than it already is in the Liturgy.

3. That the Prayers are *short*, is, lest they should nauseate, and make Devotion languid or faint through the tediousness of the Service. And every Prayer being made for a particular want, the Spirits are fixed, and all the motions of the affections determined to one Point. So that were our Memories never so bad, we cannot well forget what we are about, and we come to Church with a very low degree of Piety, if it keeps not its warmth till we say *Amen*. This motive the *Brethren* in *Egypt* had, who are reported to have very frequent but short Prayers, and those in the Nature of sudden Ejaculations, (o lest the Intention of the Mind, which is necessary to him that prayeth, should grow dull and heavy through a longer continuance in their Devotion.

4. As to their being every Day the same, (p) *I could never see any reason*, said King Charles I. *Why a Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same forms of Prayer, since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same truths,*

(o) *Ne per moras evanescat & hebetetur intentio.* Ang. ad Prob. Ep. 121. c. 9. (p) *Εἰς τὴν Βασιλικήν.* c. 16.

reads the same Scriptures, hath the same Duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both outward and inward, which are common to the whole Church. Sure we may know beforehand, what to pray as to whom to pray, and in what words, as to what sence; when we desire the same things, what hinders that we may not use the same Words? Our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as when we pray for our daily Bread—I make no doubt but a Man may be very formal in the most Extemporary variety, and very fervently devout in the most wonted Expressions. Nor is God more a God of variety than of constancy. Nor are constant Forms of Prayer, more likely to flat and binder the Spirit of Prayer and Devotion, than unpremeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

5. The difference of Gestures, they find fault with, is very agreeable to the parts of our Service. For the Wisdom of the Church has so order'd, that all the Worship of God should not be Prayer, (q) lest too much intention weary the Soul, as too long bending weakens the Bow, and makes it unserviceable: Nor yet must it wholly consist in reading, lest the Soul, as the Bow standing still unbent, becomes unable at length to shoot up one Arrow to Heaven. But reading and praying have their turns, and relieve each other; And as the one teaches us to adore God, so the latter makes that knowledge practical, and we actually adore him. While therefore we read or hear, we sit down for the refreshment and ease of the Body, but when we pray we kneel as Suiters to God, before whom we ought to behave ourselves with all imaginable humility. When we say our Creed we

(q) *Rossenf. de geniculat.*

deliver it (r) *standing*, as Confessours and Souldiers who fight the good fight of Faith, and in the strength of which we hope to *stand* firm in the Presence of God, and be enabled by it to tread our Spiritual Enemies under our Feet. And so we *stand* at the reading of the *Gospel* in the second Service, as the gesture of those, who expect the glad tidings of what the *Gospel* proposes, such as the remission of Sins, and the consequent of it, Eternal Glory. A Custom so general, that (s) *Sozomen* reckons it peculiar to the Church of *Alexandria*, that the Bishop did not rise up at the *Gospel*: (t) Contrary, saith *Nicephorus*, to the practice of all the Churches. Yet it is not to be understood, as if this portion of Scripture calls for this respect, as being more holy than what we read before, but we give it this reverence in the name of the *whole*, which deserves and demands the same gesture, but that the Church is indulgent and satisfied with thus much, as a signification, and witness of our willingness to pay our acknowledgments, if required, to all the Lessons of the Bible in the same manner. And if the *Gospel* hath the preference, and is rather pitch'd on than any other part of the divine Writings, the reason is, because generally speaking it represents some *Sermon*, or great *Action* of Christ, either of which we

(r) Some Ceremonies are useful, give me leave to say, I hold it necessary — that at the repetition of the Creed, we should stand up to testify the resolution of our Hearts, that we will defend that Religion we profess, and in some Churches, it is added, They did not only stand upright with their Bodies, but with their Swords drawn. Sir *John Elliot's* Speech in Parlia, 1628. (s) L. 7. c. 19. (t) L. 12. c. 34. *Dum SS. Evangelia recitantur in Ecclesia sacerdotes & ceteri — non sedentes sed venerabiliter curvi in conspectu SS. Evangelii Stantes* — Epist. decret. Anastasii.

ought

ought to entertain in a solemn way, as more immediately relating to his own Person.

Sixthly, As to Ceremonies. The Liturgy tells us, That though our Church, because of the excess, and abuses of 'em, hath laid by a great many Rites, which before she labour'd under, yet *considering, that without some Ceremonies it is not possible to keep any order or quiet discipline in the Church,* therefore for this Order and discipline-sake, she has been content to retain a few, but such only as are apt to *stir up the dull Mind of Man, to the remembrance of his Duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he may be edified and taught.* And herein other Protestant Churches consent, That such Rites and Ceremonies ought to be retained, which do advantage Faith, the Worship of God, Peace and good Order, whoever be the Author whether Council, Pope, Bishop, or any other—(u) saith the Bohemian Confession. (x) The Augustane admits 'em on the same consideration, having an Eye to St. Paul's Rule, That all things be done decently and in Order. And to this end, every Church may prescribe what means she in her Wisdom thinks proper, saith (y) the Gallican Church, So that they affect not the Conscience, and are not abused to Superstition. And she calls them heady and obstinate Men, that will not comply with 'em. As for the Reformed Churches in Poland, Lithuania, Russia, &c. It makes not much, say they, what Rites are observed—and every Church is left free to take what she pleases, as far as they conduce to edification and usefulness. (z) Melancthon on this reason, doth not only assert the Liberty and Power of the Church, but makes it the Duty of those in Authority, either to intro-

(u) Art. 15. (x) Cap. de discrim. cib. (y) 1562: apud Calv. (z) Iacresp. Prot. 1541.

duce or continue such Customs, so that they be grave and useful, and help to admonish, and inform the ignorant. (a) Calvin calls 'em the Bonds of Order and Comeliness, and without which the Church cannot subsist. (b) And therefore he declares, that taking 'em for no other than *External Rites*, he was not against 'em. (c) And Bullinger owns, and commends this temper in him, *I know*, saith he, *you have never been stiff and peevish in things of this Nature*—and then adds his own Judgment for the Churches Liberty, to appoint what she thought convenient for her Childrens good. But Calvin is very large, and constant to himself on this subject, (d) “Because, saith he, as to outward discipline and ceremonies, our Lord would not punctually set down what we are to do (foreseeing these things much depended on the Condition of the times, and judging one form not proper for all Ages) we are to have recourse to the Apostles general Rule, of expediency and comeliness. And the Church may safely, either alter the Old, or appoint New, as her necessity shall require. And in the foregoing Section he defines or describes, what we may call *decent and comely*. “Not that, saith he, which has nothing in it, but what may please the Eye of the beholder, whereof we have many instances in the Stage like Pomp, which the Papists use in the Administration of holy things: But that we account comely, which contributes to the Reverence of the Holy Mysteries, is apt to stir up to the exercise of Piety, instructs the faithful with what Modesty, Religion, and good Behaviour they ought to handle holy things, contributes to De-

(a) Instit. l. 4. c. 10. (b) Anglis Francoford. Lib. Epist. (c) Scio te nunquam fuisse morosum—Ep. ad Calv. (d) Instit. l. 4. c. 10. n. 30.

“votion,

"votion, and leads us to Christ — And therefore he concludes in one of (e) his Epistles, That as to what belongs to Ceremonies, his Opinion was, *That none of his Brethren ought to insist so much on that point, as on this account to leave their Churches* — An advice fit for those to follow, who pretend to have a great veneration for the Memory of Mr. Calvin, but whose Judgment it seems they no farther regard, than as it closes with their own Speculations. But elsewhere he is sharper, and (f) saith, *That if any Person is clamorous and troublesome in this matter, and will be wiser than becomes him, let him see how well he will be able to approve and justify this forwardness hereafter before the Lord.* — All the Reformers were of this mind. And if ever they speak against the Rites of the Church, it was, *when by their multitude they clouded the light of the Gospel; when they did not edifie, but were rather for diversion than Piety; when they were made serviceable to avarice and sordid Gain; when they were observed with much difficulty; when they were look'd on as matters of Conscience, and declared necessary to Salvation* — And for these reasons, and in this case the *Augustane* Confession excepts against 'em, when they are proposed as *means to obtain remission of Sins*, when they are thought *necessary*, and made the *Worship of God*. These are indeed *impious Doctrines, dangerous Opinions*. But otherwise they are *helpful to the Ministry of the Gospel*. And therefore whoever proudly, and with scandal offer violence to these, and thereby hinder the service of the Gospel, we adjudge such Men to be guilty of Sin. — Zanchy recommends 'em with the same caution, that they be *not contrary to the word of God, nor clog Conscience, but be used to edifying* — And this Limitation our Church has set herself in the

(e) In respons. ad duo certa capita, in lib. Epist. (f) Institut. loc. supra cit. N. 31.

Book of Articles (g), where she claims the Power of *adding, taking away, or altering* these Matters, so that all things be done to edifying, as *Zanchius*, saith in the Apostle's words before.

This then being the general reason for all the Ceremonies in use among us, because namely, they not only have a *natural comeliness*, but an *useful significancy*, and are very conducive both to help the *understanding*, and excite the *affections* of Men, I cannot see why we may not innocently continue 'em, especially being so *few* as well as proper, that were *St. Augustine* himself now alive (who was a Man of a very tender and *Scrupulous* Conscience, and (b) who complain'd of their excess in his time) he could not but commend and justify us, in what we have done. I know the Church of *Rome* has another notion of 'em : She spoils the Beauty of Christianity, by Muffling it up in Superstitious Observations ; she gives 'em a *purifying and cleansing faculty* ; makes 'em effectual to help the Soul, and asserts 'em, Able *ex Opere Operato*, To blot out Sins, and drive away Devils. But what is all this to us, who have no such Opinion of 'em, and between whose Ceremonies and ours there is a vast Difference ? For whereas the number of *theirs* is intolerable, as appears by their *Rituals and Ceremonials*, and the bulky Volumes writ in explication of 'em, *ours* are *few*, and so very plain and easie, that it requires almost as great skill not to understand 'em, as it doth to understand *theirs*. Then *they* place *holiness* in those they use, as appears by the forms of Consecration of their *Water, Oil, Salt, &c.* but we allow no such thing, but use and declare 'em appointed, only for *order and decency*, which is all the Virtue and Efficacy we give 'em.

(g) Art. 34. (b) Ep. ad Jan. 119.

They make their Ceremonies *necessary* parts of Divine Worship, but we look on 'em as things of *indifferent* Nature, even after they are determin'd ; And all the stress we lay upon 'em, is thereby to show our Obedience to Lawful Authority. This and the like disparity there is, between the *Roman* Church and ours, with respect to these Ceremonies ; And no Man can pretend otherwise, that is not either grossly *ignorant*, or doth not *wilfully* misunderstand the State of this controversie between them and us.

B. Well ; but what necessity was there for our Reformers to retain any of these Ceremonies, which were then distastful to some Protestants, and were like to prove the occasion of future contentions ?

A. The *Reasons* our Reformers went upon to keep or appoint those few Ceremonies we have in our Church, were such as these. *First*, A due regard to *Antiquity*. They would hereby convince the Papists, that they put a difference between the gross and intolerable *Superstitions* of Popery, and the *innocent Rites* and Practices, which were observed in the Church before it : Otherwise it must needs have hard'ned those of *that* Communion, to find no distinction made between the one sort and the other. It is an unspeakable advantage some Men give the *Romanists*, to be reforming 1600 Years backward ; And when they are pinched with a testimony of *Antiquity*, presently cry out, *The mystery of iniquity was working in the Apostles times*, as if every thing they disliked were a part of it. This unreasonable humour of innovation was it, that gave a check to the progress of the reformation in *France*, where many great Men were inclinable to receive it, till they found some Preachers too hot in opposing the *undoubted* practices of *Antiquity*, and putting 'em on the same level,

with modern Corruptions. But our *Reformers*, though they made the *Scripture* the only *Rule of Faith*, and rejected all things repugnant thereto, yet their design was not to *transform* the Church, but reduce it, as near as they could, to that State it was in under the first Christian Emperours, who were sound in Religion: And therefore they retain'd these few Ceremonies as Badges of the respect they bore to the Ancient Churches. And this they did, *Secondly*, To manifest the *Justice* and equity of the *Reformation*, by letting their Enemies see they did not break Communion with *em*, for *merely indifferent* things. For some of the Popish Bishops of that time were subtile and Learned Men; And nothing would have rejoiced them more, than to have found our *Reformers* Boggle at such Ceremonies as these; And they would have made mighty advantage of it among the People. Of which we have a clear instance in the case of Bishop Hooper's. Scrupling the *Episcopal Vestments*. *Peter Martyr* tells him plainly, that such needless scrupulosity would be a great hindrance to the Reformation. "For," *said he*, since the People are with difficulty enough brought to things necessary, if we once declare things indifferent to be unlawful, they will have no patience to hear us any longer. "And withal hereby we condemn other reformed Churches, and those ancient Churches which have hither to been in great esteem. *Thirdly*, 'Twas thus order'd, to show their consent with other *Protestant* Churches, which did allow and practise the same or more Ceremonies, as the *Lutheran* Churches generally did. And even *Calvin* himself, as you heard before, declared for 'em, both as being *Decent* and *Symbolical*. So did *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer* and others. So that seeing so many *Protestant* Churches used the same Ceremonies, and that

that the chief leaders of the Reformation abroad thought 'em not unlawful, (i) therefore for this and the foregoing reasons, our Reformers thought it fit to continue 'em in this Church, and I see no cause why they may not be still continued, seeing they are so few, and so easily understood.

And to be particular in the Surplice, the attire which the Minister of God is by order to use at the time of Divine Service: Which being but a matter of mere formality (yet such, saith (k) Mr. Hooker, as for comeliness sake, hath hitherto been judged by the wiser sort of Men, not unnecessary to concur with other sensible notes, betokening the different kind or quality of Persons, and actions whereunto it is tied) as we think not ourselves the holier, because we use it, so neither should they with whom no such thing is in use, think us therefore unholy, because we submit ourselves to that which in a matter so indifferent, the Wisdom of Authority and Law have thought comely. — Actions of Royalty and Justice, are made more solemn by such Ornaments as these. For though Princes Robes do not in the least raise their Power, nor the Judges Habit infuse new Principles of Justice, or give 'em more insight in the Laws than they had before; though neither the Scarlet, Violet, nor Fur-gown, are qualifications in themselves to set one Citizen above another, Yet these Ornaments are good Testimonies of their several ranks and qualities; They are marks of those Privileges and Authority which some Men enjoy; They are notes to discern, and distinguish Persons, who ordinarily have one and the same Figure, and lively express those Dignities and Stiles they are called to; and in a word, we find by daily

(i) Vid. *Stillingsfleet's* Unreasonableness of separation, P. 1. Sect. 5. (k) *Eccl. Polit.* l. 5. n. 29.

experience, that they procure awe and respect to those, who are found to wear them, and who might be otherwise less regarded for want of these remembrances and significations of what they are. And herein I think few or none dissent from us, but are willing that themselves or their Friends should be thus far *Ceremonious*.

Doth not *Decency* as well become the (1) *House of God*, as any *Palace, Court of Justice* or *Hall*? And why should not the *Vestments of Ministers* be thought as convenient and proper, as what are used by Men of *another quality, Society* or *Order*? Especially being *Monitors* and *Emblems* of that *innocency, good conversation, continuance in well-doing, purity and holiness* we ought to approach with into the presence of God, and which the sight of 'em calls for from us.

The Surplice, as that judicious Author before speaks, "Suits that lightsome affection of joy, wherein God delighteth, when his Saints praise him, and so lively representeth the Glory of the Saints in Heaven, together with the Beauty, wherein Angels have appeared unto Men, that they who are to appear for Men, in the presence of God, as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chuse any, could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such a Service.

The Gentiles by the light of Nature discovered this to be the sense of such Garments, and for order and *signification-sake*, both used, and accounted them Reverend and Honourable. Thus Ha-

(1) *Indicat Sacerdotis splendidam conversationem; significat perseverantiam in bona actione, Ergo dicitur græcè ποδῆς seu talaris, quia usq; ad finem vitæ hujus bonis operibus insistere debet sacerdos*—Raban. Maur. de instit. Cler. tom. 6.

bited, (m) He, in *Virgil*, Sacrificed. And *Herodotus* testifies, that the *Egyptian* Priests always wore 'em. The same *Philostratus* reports of *Apollo-nius*, that being charged for using this Habit, he excused himself by what the Garb represented, *Sincerity* and *Fairness*; which made it valuable to *Phythagoras*, *Orpheus*, the *Indians*, *Egyptians* and others, and became a *disputant* in the *School*, as well as *Priest* in the *Temple*. The Poet (n) *Ovid*, makes *White* the *Type* of *Happiness*; and by *White-Days*, another means *Halcyon-Days*; and the, *Niveo signati lapillis*, were reputed very *Fortunate-Days*, to the *Romans* and *Scythians*. (o) And *White-Stones* among them (to which the *Scripture* alludes, *Rev. 2. 7.*) were *Symbols* of *innocency*, and *signs* of *absolving*, or *acquitting* Men from the *Crimes* charged on 'em.

And when any were *Competitors* or *Suiters* for an *Office* under that *Government*; they put on (p) *White-Coats* to recommend them to the *People*, intimating thereby *that integrity*, *simplicity* of *Mind* and *Honesty* they would be sure to use in the *Administration* of their *Trusts*; and from this *Custom* and *Ceremony* they were called *Candidates*.

It was the *Ancient* way, to put on *White Apparel*, at their *Feasts* and most joyful *Solemnities*; as we may see, *Ecclesi. 9. 8.* *Let thy garments be always White*——Or in plainer words, I wish nothing may happen to thee, but what is delightful and pleasing; and may'st thou never have occasion to wear the *Black Garment*, as a disastrous, melancholy or mournful attire. And in the *Eastern Countries* especially, to use *White Robes*

(m) *Purâq; in veste sacerdos. Ænead. l. 12.* (n) *Candidus & felix proximus annus erit.* (o)——*Niveis atrisq; lapillis,* &c. *Metamorph.* (p) *Candidas togas*——*Candidati.*

was looked on, as a signification of pre-eminence and honour, *Ester* 8. 15. and those who were allowed to ride on *White Asses* were noble Personages, and such as were deemed worthy to sit in Judgment.

We must be great strangers to the Oeconomy of the *Jews*, and manner of Worship among 'em, if we do not understand that the Officiating *Priests* and *Levites*, were always vested with *Linen Coats*, or *White linen Garments*. And in this particular, they have been thought no ill precedents for the Church of *Christ* to follow; And accordingly in her best Days, we find it her practice, as to distinguish *times* and *places*, so likewise to make difference of *Habits* for those, who attended at the Altar, and had any concern in the Administration of Holy things. (q) So *St. Jerom* informs us, That *Religion* has one kind of *Habit* in the *Divine Worship*, and another for *secular* and common use. And in a way of answer to *Belagius*, (who was not it seems well pleased with this Custom of the Church) he demands, What offence it could be, that the *Officers* of the Church in the exercise of their *Ministry*, appeared in *White*? And for the Eastern Communion, *St. Chrysostom* puts the Clergy of *Antioch* in Mind, that they had greater instances concerning their employments, to Glory in, than the honour of being seen at the Church in *White Garments*. But there needs no more Witnesses to prove what is not denied. For the Novelty of this habit is not so much objected as the abuse of it; And the *Papists* having been over-exact, and nice in this as in the other *Rites* of the Church, some People think it necessary, that it should be now

(q) *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in Ministerio, alterum in usu vitæ; communis* — In *Ezek.*

laid aside as a Monument, and relick of the old Superstition, or a practice too much favouring, and approving what we pretended to redress at the *Reformation*.

B. You speak plainly their Thoughts; For I have often heard 'em talk after that manner; And they instance some *Bishops* to be of that Opinion.

A. One indeed we have an account of, and that was Dr. *Hooper*, I just now named, who being called to the See of *Gloucester*, in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* (r) "He had some scruples about the
"Episcopal Vestments, and thought that all those
"Graments having been consecrated with much Superstition, were to be reckon'd among the Elements condemned by St. *Paul*. But *Ridley* justified the use of 'em, and said, The Elements condemned by St. *Paul*, were only the Jewish Ceremonies, which though the Apostle disallowed, when they were imposed as necessary, because that imported, that the Mosaick Law was not yet abrogated, and that the *Messias* was not yet come, yet they themselves used them at other times, to gain upon the Jews by that compliance. And if the Apostles did such things to gain them, subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in matters indifferent; and Superstitious consecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aside those Habits——Hereupon he writes to *Bucer* at *Cambridge*, and *Peter Martyr* at *Oxon*, (two able Foreigners invited into *England*, to assist at the *Reformation*) to desire their Judgments. And the sum of his Letter consisted in these two Positions. *First*, That this attire is re-

(r) History of the Reformation.

calling the Aaronical-Priest-hood, to which this distinction of Vestments appertained, and a practical denial of Christ's Being come in the Flesh, whom in a great measure they prefigured and foretold. *Secondly*, That we could not with a safe Conscience, retain these inventions of *Antichrist*, seeing it becomes us not only to renounce the *Pope* but all *his Works*, and devices, among which this difference of Habits has not the lowest Room — To both which (without making one reason to destroy the other, for if they be instances of the *Legal-Priest-hood*, prescribed and appointed by God himself, how can they be said to be the *invention of Antichrist*) we find *Peter Martyr* returning this Answer.

First, To the first, (s) That in the Law and *Aaronical-Priest-hood*, some things were indeed *Typical*, and being signs of the promises of God concerning Christ, as soon as Christ came, they had their Consummation and were repealed for the future. And *these* were the *Sacraments* of the Jewish-Church; and our Lord having instituted and appointed *others* under the Gospel, *those* before are to be continued no longer. But besides these, there were some things again purely *Ornamental*, having a natural comeliness, and in the Judgment of all the World, not a little useful to keep order and help Devotion. And such as these (and the rather being once of Divine appointment) we ought, at least may, recal or retain. For did not the *Apostles*, for the peace and quiet of the Church, forbid the gentiles *strangled Creatures and Blood*? Do not we keep on foot the Custom of *Tythes*, for the maintenance of the Ministry? Have we not *Psalms* and sacred Hymns in the Church,

nay, the very *same* as they had before us? And which is St. *Ambrose* his note, Did not St. *Paul* derive his form of Preaching from the *Jewish Synagogue*, which we all keep to this Day? Are not our Festivals of the *Nativity*, *Passion*, *Resurrection* and *Pentecost*, the very *Foot steps* of the Law? Nay, is not our *Lord's-day*, their *Sabbath*, in the sense and equity of it? A Man might say more on this head. But these particulars show, that every thing ought not to be exploded, because the *Jews* used it, whose constitution was *Divine*, and whom we need not be affraid to follow, but in what impairs our *Creed*, and denies *Messias's* coming.

To the *Second*, he saith, That the Superstitions of the Papists are no reason to make void Customs, not only innocent in themselves, but very serviceable to those ends they were intended for, when those abuses are taken away. Otherwise, how can our Ancestours answer it, to convert the *Temples* of Idols into *Christian-Churches*, and take the revenues and profits allotted *Vestal-Nuns* and *Pagan-Priests*, and bestow them on *Gospel-Ministers*? What think you? These things were not Dedicated to the use of *Antichrist* alone, but the *Devil* himself was served by this means in Pomp and Grandeur: Yet now are consecrated to the Worship of the *true God*, and we stick not to enjoy their Estates and Privileges, without offence to our Consciences. The Verses composed by Infidel Poets, and Sung in honour of their Muses and other feigned Deities, how often do the Ecclesiastical writers cite and appeal to them? And they have St. *Paul's* warrant, who thought it not below him to produce the testimony of *Menander*, *Aratus* and *Epimenides*, and though Originally *prophane*, insert their words in his *Canonical Writings*, and make 'em serviceable to the Gospel. Besides

sides this, who is there of any reading, but knows, that our *Wine* was once consecrated to *Bacchus*, our *Bread* to *Ceres*, our *Water* to *Neptune*, our *Oil* to *Minerva*, *Learning* to *Mercury*, *Wit* to *Apollo*, with many other particulars mentioned by *Tertullian*, which yet we use, and are not scrupulous, to let 'em have an interest in the highest points, and most mysterious parts of our Religion. You call them the devices of *Antichrist*; I must crave leave to dissent and be of another Opinion, because we read in the Histories of the Church, that *St. John* himself wore at *Ephesus*, Petalium or a Pontifical Plate on his Breast. And *Pontius* the Deacon reports of *St. Cyprian*, that being ready to suffer Martyrdom, he gave his (t) *Tunick* to the Executioner, his *Cope* to the Deacons, and he stood in *Linen*. *St. Chrysostom* makes mention of a *White Garment*, wore by the Ministers of the Church. And the Ancients tell us, that it was the way of those who turned Christians to change their Clothes, which, because the Heathens ridiculed, was the occasion of that excellent discourse of *Tertullian*, *de Pallio*. You cannot forget, how early the practice was for those who were Baptized, to put on *White Garments*, in token that now all their defilements were wash'd away, and that thenceforward they were to lead lives inoffensive and pure. This was long before the Papal Usurpation and Tyranny; and therefore this distinction of Habits cannot be well called the invention of Popery.

Yet grant it so. Humane appointments even in Religious matters are not simply rejected. For in the Administration of the *Eucharist*, the time

(t) *Birrum carnificibus, dalmaticam vestem diaconis, & ceteris in linteis.*

is changed from *Evening* to *Morning*; and we receive *fasting* what was first of all given the Disciples *after Supper*. The Feast of *Dedication* among the *Jews*, our Lord honour'd and solemnly kept, and yet it was not divinely instituted, which in part discovers the insufficiency of that Plea against what our Governours order, especially in things which have a grave signification, and do not a little conduce to instruct us. As in the case of a *Surplice*. For seeing the Ministers of the Church are stiled by the Prophet *Malachy*, the *Angels* or *Messengers* of God, and that the Angels thus alluded to, always appear in *White Raiment*, why should not the Church use her Liberty, to appoint such rites as may improve the Analogy, and represent as well as she can in her Temples and Oratories, the condition and qualities of those Angels in Heavens, of which these *Holy Places*, and their *Officers* are the constant figures and *Types*.

You will say, they should be Angels indeed and not barely signify 'em. I hear you. The same answer might have been made to St. Paul, when he order'd Women to be *covered*, and their Husbands *uncover'd*, but gives no other reason for it than that of *Signification*, it being not a fit thing for the Man to cover his Head, forasmuch as he is the Image and *Glory* of God, but the Woman the *Glory* of the Man. Now a captious *Corinthian*, might evade the Ceremony by telling the Apostle, that 'twas better for *both* to do the thing it self than to trouble themselves with the *signs*; and if the *Man* and *Woman* acquitted themselves well, and discharged the Duty of *Husband* and *Wife*, this is what the Ceremony meant, and this being mutually done, the Ceremony was of no use. But it seems the Apostle did not think it enough, that they lived as became 'em, for he was willing they should

should continue such Customs, as did fitly express the sense they had of their Duty to each other, and were a kind of remembrancers to put them in mind of it, and admonish others to do the like.

To alledge, that the Eyes of the votaries being employ'd in viewing the Pomp, and variety of this attire, their Thoughts are diverted from more serious matters, and while they consider the Ministers or Bishops *Formalities*, they will be apt to neglect the *Worship* it self; it may be rather affirmed on the other side, that where these Formalities are few, and the Habit grave and significant, they help attention and raise the Thoughts to an higher pitch, than otherwise they would be, if the Service were done in a Cheap, careless and slovenly manner. And to this end it is supposed the *Symbols* of the Sacraments were instituted as we have 'em, that the sight thereof might ingage the Heart and Work on the affections, with more vigour. Yet your reason holds good against them, who *abound* in these things; and where *Superstition*, and *Number* make 'em both burdensom and dangerous, you conclude beyond an Answer. But these reasons cease here, the Ceremonies now used being *few* and *proper*, and helpful to express the reverence we have for the Worship of God. We attribute nothing of *holiness* to 'em; We account 'em *indifferent* in their own Natures; We say, God may be well adored *without* 'em, but better *with* 'em under our present Circumstances, because, there not only is a *Natural Beauty* in the Service done after such a manner, but there is likewise *Obedience* to Authority, whose commands are so far sacred, that Conscience is obliged to yield compliance, where God is silent and the Gospel does not contradict 'em. This very consideration resolves all Proposals in matters of scruple,

scruple. Because *Scruples* are *doubts*, and nothing that is *doubtful* should stand in competition with *Doctrines certain* and plain, such as is Submission to Authority ; And we *ought* not to struggle with it, till our Objections are determined and commenced to the same Degree of *certainly*, as our Obedience to Governours is. In a word, every Creature of God is good, and *to the pure all things are pure*. The danger is within our own Power. No former abuse can render an indifferent thing unlawful ; 'tis safe and innocent, if we ourselves do not abuse it.

Thus or to this purpose, *Peter Martyr* to those Objections of Bishop *Hooper* ; and I have been the larger, because, that Prelate has been the *occasion*, upon which the *beats* concerning things indifferent, that have since his time so fatally rent the Church, had their first rise and beginning. *Bucer's* answer was much the same, which he sent Archbishop *Cranmer* on this Question. " He thought Ancient Customs " ought not to be lightly changed, and that there " might be a good use made of those Garments, " that they might well express the purity and candour, which became all who Ministred in holy " things, and that it was a Sin to disobey the Laws " in such a matter— And that these Doctors might not be suspected to be *time-servers*, and give their Opinions in such a manner, as might suit their Minds then in Power, *Peter Martyr* in particular declares, that his Judgment on these points was of *Ancient standing*, and that from the very Year he betook himself to the study of Divinity beyond Sea, it was his sense, that there could be no harm in the use of Ceremonies, as being things which might be either continued or taken away, as they thought best whom we were subject to. This is a short account of that *Controversie* set on foot in King *Edward's* Days. And I wish those among

us, who borrow Bishop Hooper's *Exceptions*, would likewise consider the *Answers* made 'em, in order to preserve peace and love among us.

Before we part with this Prelate, let me take the opportunity to set before you his Opinion concerning the *Sabbath*; hoping his testimony among fair Men, may have the same effect in one point as in another. "We may not think, (*saieth he*) "that God gave any more holiness to the *Sabbath* "than to the *other Days*. For if you consider *Friday*, *Saturday*, or *Sunday*, inasmuch as they be "Days and the Work of God, the one is no more "holy than the other: But *that day* is always *most* "holy in the which we most apply ourselves unto "holy Works. To that end he did sanctify the "*Sabbath-day*, not that we should give ourselves "to idleness, or such pastimes as are now used among faithful People: But being free that *Day* "from the travail of this World, we might consider the Works and Benefits of God with "Thanksgiving, hear the Word of God, Honour him, and Fear him, then to learn who, "and where be the Poor of Christ that want "our help——So that the holiness of the seventh-Day, depends chiefly on the sanctity of our actions, in the Works of Piety and Charity: And as to other respects, it had the same stamp with the rest of the Week, they were all alike the Creatures of God, and not to be distinguish'd but by our Services. And in this belief he died a Martyr, under the Persecution of Queen *Mary*.

But I am not much surprized, that some People are offended at the *Ceremonies* in use, when 'tis thought a piece of Superstition, at least an unprofitable pains, to read any part of *Scripture* in the Church, but what is presently followed with an *Exposition* or *Sermon* on it. And though 'tis true, that

that sometimes they afford their Profelytes a Chapter or two in their Assemblies, yet the end of it (as I have somewhere observed) is only to *divert* some Men and Women, that are earlier than their Neighbours, at the place of *Meeting*, and who otherwise might think the time long, before the Worship begins. But to judge in part of the Reverence they give this Book or what is delivered out of it, not only the *Precentor* or *Clark*, are Officers able enough for the discharge of this Service, but so little stress is laid on the Work it self, that as soon as the Congregation is full, and a better Oracle appears, then they enter, as they conceive, on the business of the Day, which they all meet about, and which the first Comers, who have been hitherto *religiously idle*, have with no little impatience waited for. Surely 'tis not in the Mind of these *Teachers*, to abet the *Romish Doctrine* concerning the Scriptures being a dead-letter, unless they quicken and apply it. Is not this a severe reflection on the goodness of God, who was graciously pleas'd to reveal to us his Divine Will, with Relation to himself and our Eternal State, yet has not done it so fully and plainly, but that it needs a *Second Edition*, and a new inspiration for these Doctors to render it useful and edifying. And if so, why do they press their Auditors to read it at *home*, where the Difficulties seem greater than in the Church, the Minister reading it here *Ex Officio*, and who for the *Ordinance-sake*, may be well supposed to deliver it *better*, and with *better effect*, because being presumed to understand what he reads, he on the account of the Accents, Stops, helps of the Voice, and way of pronounciation reads it more intelligibly, and because of his Commission and Authority more beneficially to those who hear him ———— *This* (as our reverend *Diocesan* speaks) is a *Comment* or *Paraphrase*

Paraphrase on the Text to read it sensibly, and with a due Emphasis. [Bishop of London's seventh Letter, 1686.] (u) And this is a sort of *Preaching* too, when in this publick and solemn manner, the Ministers witness the truth of those sacred Lessons, God has revealed to us, and declare to the World, they acknowledge and consent to them. And the People hereby being well assured of this point, it makes the way easier to the *Sermons* following, which wou'd in themselves be of little credit, were there any scruple concerning the Text or Foundation the Preacher builds on. Which is that which stuck with the *Beræans*, who could not be induced to yield their assent to what *Paul* and *Silas* said, (though divinely inspired) until they had recourse to the Holy Writings themselves, to see whether what they delivered were so or no. (x) "So that a second kind of Preaching is the "reading of holy writ, saith *Mr. Hooker*; for "thus we may the boldlier speak, having the Authority of *St. Paul*, who saith that *Moses* of old "time had in every City them that Preached him, "being read in the Synagogues, every Sabbath-day. He was Preached in that he was read; "for so of necessity it must be meant, in as much "as we know that the Jews have always had their "Weekly readings of the Law of *Moses*, but that "they always had in like manner their Weekly "Sermons upon some part of the Law, we no "where find. ———

And 'tis true, they had not *always* this Custom, yet to say they *never* had it, goes I think a little too far, for we find in *Nehem. 8. 4.* that *Ezra* the scribe stood upon a Pulpit of Wood, which they

(u) *Qui Scripturas legit cum quodammodo eas prædicare non diffiteor.* Diesdom. l. 2. c. 5. (x) *Hooker Eccl. Pol. l. 5. n. 19.*

made for the purpose—So they read the Book, in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading. ——— This giving of the sense, to make them understand what was read, was undoubtedly the same or very like our *Preaching*; and there was great necessity *Ezra* should do this now, though it had never been in practice before: Because the Law being writ in *Hebrew*, and the Jews having been so long in the *Babylonish Captivity*, that their Native Language was much impaired and corrupted, by conversing with the Infidels, they could not comprehend the meaning of the Law as read in the *Original*; and therefore their Governours, and Priests were forced to be at this pains to *explain* what was read to them, in other more familiar Words, and a Language then vulgarly in use among 'em. But then as this was (to say truth) little more than a *Metaphrase* at that time, occasioned by the People's loss of the purity of the *Hebrew Tongue*, so perhaps it might not be *Weekly* till the after Ages, as the Learned Man affirms; though to me, I must confess, it seems more credible, that the Custom was continued ever after the Days of *Ezra*, and that the building of *Synagogues* began on that very reason, that there might be Opportunities for the People to meet, to have the Law read and expounded to them. Plainly it was so in the times of our *Saviour*, who as he constantly went to the *Synagogues on the Sabbath Days*, so according to the common practice, as soon as that Section or Portion of the Scripture appointed for the day was read by one of the Ministers, we find him expounding or preaching upon it; and he began to say unto them, (y) *This Day is this Scripture fulfilled in your Ears*—And that which contribu-

ted to this Custom, was the Tyrannical Ediſt of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, wherein he made it Death to read the Law of *Moses*; For this obliged the Jews to have recourse to the writings of the Prophets, and at their ſtated times of Worſhip, to read ſo much of them, as in likenefs of matter, came neareſt to each Section of their Law — And afterwards, when this Perſecution was over, and that they had liberty to read the Law again, the ſame Method, from the Prophets, continued ſtill, as a good Comment, and interpretation of the other. And this way of explaining Scripture by Scripture, was ſo well liked, that the Scribes were encouraged to greater pains in it, and by Degrees introduced the mode of making *ſet diſcourſes* on both, to make them eaſier for the Peoples Capacities. All this was of *humane invention*, and by the Wiſdom of their Paſtours, well accommodated to the neceſſities of the Jews — And it took ſo well in the *Chriſtian Church*, that we find the Apoſtles, and particularly *St. Paul*, frequently conforming himſelf to that method of inſtruction; and as ſoon as the Ordinary Leſſons were read to the Congregation, he proceeded to give the ſenſe, in a Speech of his own compoſing. And ſo afterwards, the Fathers retained the ſame reading of the Law and the Prophets, but withal added a *ſecond* Leſſon, out of the Evangelists or Apoſtoli- cal writings, and on the ſame reaſon, the Jews had, for uſing the Prophets. For as *theſe* were now and then extraordinarily ſent, to expound *Moses's* Law, and may be called *Commentatours* on it, ſo are the Epiſtles and Gospels in the *New* Teſtament, *Explications* of what we find in the *Old*, and *both* together make a compleat Body of Divinity, and include all Doctrines neceſſary to Salvation. For *what elſe is the Law but the Gospel foretold, and what is the Gospel, but the Law fulfilled.*

What

What the *Old* Testament hath, the very same the *New* containeth ; But that which lieth there under a *Shadow* is here brought forth, as in the *open Sun*. Things there *prefigured*, are here *performed*. And as in the *Old* Testament, there is a dark comprehension of what is in the *New*, so in the *New*, there is an *open* discovery of what is in the *Old*—Thus the Ancient Doctors, and on this account we have the *two Lessons* in our daily Service, as we find our Forefathers had in theirs. That the Epistles of the Apostles were read in the Church, we find expressly in several Scriptures. (2.) And *Eusebius* out of *Clement* reports, that *St. Peter* commanded *St. Mark's* Gospel to be publicly read to the Congregation. *Justin Martyr* makes it a great part of the *Lord's-day-business*, to read the writings of the Apostles and Prophets. *Origen* has his *Lessons* and *Lectures*, and he affirms, That the Apostles ordained the reading of the Jewish Histories. *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Augustine* assert the same, that the Scriptures were read both of the Old and New Testament. The Council of *Laodicea* shows the practice in its nine and fiftieth Canon, requiring *nothing to be read in the Church, but only the Canonical writings of the Old and new Testament*——The same caution the Council of *Carthage* gives, but includes both Testaments within its Canon, to be the subjects of their publick Lessons.

Whether those *Ancient Churches* used select portions of Scripture : Or after the manner of the *Jews* read it in order, so much at a time till the whole was finished, doth not fully appear. Yet we find by (a) *St. Augustine*, that the Book of the

(2) Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 4. (a) *Anniversaria solennitate post passionem dom. Librum Actuum Apost. omni anno recitari. In Johan. tract. 6. Et psalmum 21 omni anno novissima benedictio imminente passione Christi. Tract. 13.*

Acts of the Apostles was solemnly read every Year after the Lord's Passion, and the one and twentieth *Psalm* the Week before it. And (b) *some Lessons* were so peculiar, and so necessary to *some Festivals*, that they could not well substitute others in their Places. And therefore in all likelihood they had a kind of *Kalendar* or common Course of what Scriptures were to be read on each day, to preserve *Uniformity* and Peace in the Church; and that every Diocess at least might consent in a Rule, to prevent the distractions which must have unavoidably followed, if every private *Minister* had been his own *Ordinary* to appoint *what*, and *how much* was to be read when they met together.

But though 'tis certain, that it has been ever accounted a part of the Divine Service, the reverend and publick reading of the Old and New Testament, and that such reading was of great use to instruct the Congregation, yet in the same Monuments of Antiquity, wherein we discover this, we find also that after the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles were read, then the *Hypocrites*, or Bishop made an homily to the People. *Origen* calls it, *An exposition, by which the Auditory were exhorted to Piety towards God and to all Vertue*. Now saith, *St. Augustine* (after the Lessons) *I am come to my Sermon*. *St. Ambrose*, and before him *St. Cyprian* declare the same. And these *Preachers* were called *Tractatores*, and their *Sermons Tractatus*. At first they were *Bishops*, but afterwards *Presbyters*, and at last *Deacons* were not excluded, and as in other cases, so in this, gave their Assistance. Their Sermons were very short, choosing rather to Preach often than long, (c) because as the Father obser-

(b) Ita erant annue ut, alia esse non possint. (c) Ep. 11.

ved, a tedious Discourse tires the Understanding. (d) And therefore St. Basil tells his People, that he will put an end to his *Morning Sermon*, for fear he should make 'em dull against the *Afternoon*. (e) And St. Chrysostom's reason for short Sermons was, that they might be better remembred. That they were not to exceed an *hour* at a time, we gather from the words of St. Basil, who saith, That (f) because he could not finish his Sermon the day before within the hour, he put it off — (g) And St. Augustine confesses, he industriously avoided some sorts of subjects, because he could not go through with 'em, within the space of an hour. But whether long or short, (h) they were to be attentively and reverently heard, and the Congregation were not to stir till the Sermon was over on pain of (i) *Excommunication*. We see by (k) St. Basil, and (l) St. Augustine, that these Discourses were twice a Day. For the first exhorts his hearers to bless God, and between themselves repeat, and consider those things which they had heard that *Morning* and *Afternoon*. And the other in his Preface to the Evening-Sermon, calls for his Peoples attention to the remaining part of the *Psalms*, which he Preach'd on in the *Morning*. Sometimes there was a third Sermon, but very rare, and on occasions extraordinary, as we see by the Apology, (m) St. Augustine makes for it to the Brethren in the *Wilderness*. And as to the two then in practice, we are to consider the necessity of those times, which called for frequent Sermons to make way for the Conversion of Men, who were either Strangers,

(d) Hexam. Hom. 8. (e) Hom. 15. in Gen. (f) In Psal: (g) *Verbis ad horam occurrentibus me posse sufficere non putarem.* Serm. 11. de Verb. Dom. (h) Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 24. (i) Concil. Agath. Can. 31. (k) Hom. 7. (l) In Psal. 88. (m) *Sermo ad fratres in Brema.*

or not *well affected* to the Christian Religion, especially in Cities of great resort, whereby Opportunities were had to disperse the Gospel, and therefore *these precedents* make nothing for us, to continue the Custom in *these Churches*, where the Gospel and the Duties of it are very well known, and want only practice *to be doers of the word, and not bearers only*, which word however is constantly Preach'd to remember us of what we know. But I am gone further than I thought in *this way* of Preaching, which even our *Opponents* are fond of, when it was only my intention at first to offer Authorities for the other. Yet I repent not this Excursion; And I wish all our Neighbours would show so much Ingenuity and Candour, as to take the word in its full extent, and herein follow the examples of those before us, who were not so wedded to an Harangue from the *Pulpit*, but they could patiently hear a Sermon out of the *Desk*, wherein God in his own words was pleas'd to speak to 'em.

B. I condemn not this practice: And am therefore more easily reconciled to that Expression, in the Prayer for the Catholick Church (which displeases some,) wherein it is desired, that *God would give to all People his Heavenly Grace, especially to the Congregation then present, that with meek hearts and due reverence, they may hear and receive his holy Word* — And in the *Letany*, That it would please him to give to all his People increase of Grace, to hear meekly his word, and to receive it with pure affection — For though on some Days there be no Sermon, when these Prayers are said, yet the Lessons read out of the Old and New Testament, may very well bear that Name, as being more truly and properly the holy word of God, and what the Ministers at other times Preach no otherwise so, than with relation to the Scripture those Lessons afford us.

But

But that which scandalizes me more than this is, That some things are read for holy lessons in the Church which are so little the Word of God that they are rather as *Austin* somewhere calls 'em [*à tutoribus fabularum scriptæ.*] ridiculous forgeries, and tho' in the title page they are term'd *Apocrypha*, as not being satisfied of the Original and Authority of these Writing, yet the reading 'em in the Church, seems as if we had a months mind to have 'em ranked among the *undoubted Scriptures*, or Books without exception *canonical* and divine; a thing that very Council of *Laodicea* you lately cited forbids to be done.

A. A man must know little of the Bible if he cannot distinguish the *legitimate* Books from those which are not so, as soon as he hears them named: a thing the *Minister* always takes care to do, and the (n) Rubrick requires it before he begins the Chapter. *Wherein should there happen by way of clause, sentence or speech, any thing to be read which leads to error, must the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive herself of so much gold, rather than learn how by art and judgment to make separation of the one from the other?* You were contented that these Lessons should be accounted a kind of preaching to the People. And if so, why should we any more quarrel with these Sermons than with what the preacher composes himself, and who for collateral evidence to what he sets forth, very often introduces *Sayings* and *Examples* of Men borrowed from *History*, whose authority is as *uncertain* as of the *Apocryphal Books*, which it must be confest the Jews themselves did not look on with the same Eye as they did the Law and Prophets, yet they bare 'em re-

(n) Note that before every lesson the Minister shall say, Here beginneth such a Chapter or such Verse of such a chapter of such a Book, (o) Hooker, Eccel. Pol. lib. 5. n. 20.

spect as written by persons of no mean Figure among 'em: and were by our (p) ancient doctors reputed *profitable* tho' not *divinely inspired*. And indeed what an excellent example of virtue and Chastity, do we find in the person of *Susanna*, who could not be tempted or terrified to that act of uncleanness the two Elders proposed to her, tho' humanely speaking inevitable death was to follow the denial? And how do we, in the behaviour of the *two Elders*, discover the temper of the World in Charging innocence with a wickedness, which that admirable Woman would not consent to, and for no other reason, but because she did not consent to it. But withall, we have, in this Story, a pregnant instance of the protection and care *divine providence* hath over such exemplary purity and a signal testimony of his Almighty Justice, to let these Villains *fall into the pit they had dug for her, when their travail came on their own heads, and their wickedness fell on their own pates*—

The Story of *Tobit* and *Tobias* shows the conduct and kindness of Heaven, in letting the *angels* be the *guides* of good Men, who tho' not presently sensible of the assistances given 'em, yet a little reflection would easily lead them to the knowledge of these extraordinary means; and the Success they sometimes have, above their hope, cannot but inferr God to be the Author, and that all these events are purely owing to his Wisdom and fatherly care of them. The like application may be made of that passage about *Bel* and the *Dragon*; Wherein the holy youth *Daniel* did not a little suffer by the malice of the heathen priests and their adherents; but his sufferings only made way for the utter destruction of his adversaries,

and were but means to advance his credit among the *Persians*, and make an infidel prince give God his due glory, for preserving *Daniel* in that miraculous manner, as the Narration informs us.

The Books of the *Maccabees* are pieces of *History*, containing an account of the *Jews* both in Church and state under the Tyrant *Antiochus* and others; and are a relation of the great actions of *Judas* and *John* (surnamed *Maccabæi* and from thence the Books are so called) which they did out of an heroick Love to their Country's liberty and Zeal for Religion. A consideration of such influence in the *ancient* times, that our Fathers appointed 'em a *Festival* and made Orations in their praise, as we see in *Gregory of Nazianzum. Orat. 32.* And here we have (what the same Author admires) the surprizing patience and constancy of a *Mother* and her *seven Children*, who rather than transgress the Law of their Ancestors in *eating Swines flesh*, as the King required, were barbarously tortured, and died in such a manner, that the *Persecutor* himself, tho' never so incensed and harden'd in his cruelty, could not but wonder at 'em, and had they afforded the least room for pardon, was inclinable to save 'em. As for the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* which of all those Writings are most read in our Churches, none that takes the pains to peruse 'em, can judge otherwise than that they are *pieces of great (q) piety and learning* and of high Esteem even with those who have made it their business to pass censure on the *Apocryphal Writings*; and tho' not penned by immediate inspiration, yet they are reckoned so exceeding profitable and good, that they are allotted the next place to the Scriptures them-

(q) *Pet. Galatin: de arcanis Catholica Verit. lib. 1 cap. 3.*
 selves

selves and their authority cited with no little veneration. The rest of 'em, which I have not named, have likewise their use and service to edification; and tho' perhaps you are ready to question the reality of many things reported in 'em, yet without referring you to several of the old Doctors, who have been at pains to vindicate what is therein written, should we allow 'em merely *parabolical* or pious inventions for the sake of some Doctrines in that manner represented and cleared, which we should be apt to overlook or forget without the impression of a Story; were, I say, the case thus, I do not see the harm of reading 'em; And if this be a reason to lay 'em aside, it reaches divers Pages in the Old Testament, and more in the New, where Christ usually speaks by *parables*, or things which never had a Being, and *these* we must reject upon the force of the Same Objection. But here we think ourselves in no danger: Nor are we less safe on the other account, especially when (r) our Church declares in St. *Jerom's* words, that we read 'em only *for example of life and instruction of manners*, but not to apply 'em to establish any doctrine, nor admit 'em sufficient to build an Article on, if we have not a plain proof of it in those Books confest to be *canonical*. And yet St. *Augustine* whom you mentioned, reckons *these* as such. And the (s) Council of *Carthage*, forbidding every thing to be read in the Church under the notion of *Canonical*, but what are truly so, places *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Esther* and the two Books of *Esdra's* within the *Canon* of Scripture; But then it is to be taken in a *large sence*, and as *Cajetan* explains it, not strictly as a *rule of faith*, but *behaviour and manners*, as our Church takes

(r) Article 5. 1652. (s) Canon. 27.

'em, and in which respect they may be called *regular* as they guide us in our *morals*, but not in our *Creed*. Thus the Council and St. *Augustine* who was a member of it, must be understood. For tho' that Father styles 'em *canonical*, because they were allowed to be read in the Church, yet he frequently makes St. *Jerom's* distinction, and allotts 'em their degrees of credit and certainty: For he tells us, that some of those books contained in the *African* Canon were received by *all* the Churches, others not so; and then infers, *that the Scriptures universally own'd ought to have the preference before those which some particular Churches only accepted*—— And again, *What the most noted Churches both for Number and Figure, receive, ought to take place before what few Churches, and those inconsiderable ones, do think fit to read*—— (t) And being a little puzzled with the example of *Rasis* (one of the Elders of *Jerusalem* who to avoid the insults of *Nicanor* flew himself) that Doctor neither being willing nor able to defend the self murder, he takes refuge in this consideration, That the *Jews* have not the same regard to this Book of the *Maccabees* as to the Law, Prophets and Psalms, to which our Lord gave testimony, yet confesses 'twas allowed by the Church, not without benefit, if it be soberly read and heard, which was a caution needlessly made, had the Book been really *Canon*. (u) And so having occasion to cite a Text out of the Book of (w) *Wisdom*, concerning *Enoch*, that *he was speedily taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his Soul* — which it seems was objected against as no solid proof, because not produced out of a *canonical* Book; He do's not go about to vin-

(t) *Contra Gaudent. c.23.* (u) *De prædest. Sanct. c.14.* (w) *Wisd. 4. 11.*

dicare the authority of the Book considered barely in itself, but insists on the argument from other unquestionable places, and thereupon appeals to a Prophet and wonders the Exception should be made against those words in *wisdom*, seeing the Divine Writing said the same. But tho' this Father did not take these *Ecclesiastical Books* as precisely *Canonical* and *divinely written*, yet honouring 'em with a Stile which looks that way, plainly shows, that those *Apocrypha*, (x) or fabulous stories you cite him for, do not mean the *Books*, of which we are now treating, but *such* as some Hereticks were the Authors of, and which to support, they published in the Apostles name. These indeed he calls *Apocryphal* strictly, illegitimate, false and exploded, and they come under *Eusebius's* last division of the Books passing for Scripture, *some* whereof (saith he, are genuine and *Catholick*, *others* are doubted and *some* are *absurd*, *impious* and *counterfeit*, which are they St. *Augustine* brands as you said, but must not be applied to those writings which contain many excellent Truths and Examples of Vertue, tho' their authority is disputed, nor doth it well appear who they were that penned 'em.

As for the Council of *Laodicea*, we must not lay too great a stress on this Canon in it, because (y) *as it forbids the reading of some things which are not canonical, so it makes some things not canonical which are, so that her judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow* — In the one we must not, because thereby we wholly exclude the Book of *Revelations* which is not in that Canon; and as to the *other* there is no necessity but that our own

(x) Adv. Faust. § de Civ. Dei. (y) Hookers Eccl. Pol. lib. 5. n. 20.

Church may use her liberty to take the best methods she can think of to instruct and make us better, provided she goes not about to alter the nature of what is read, and as the Romanists have done, make that *Divine* which was never so esteem'd in the Catholick Church, whose judgment we follow in this, as in other disputes between us. Yet the reason of that Canon was good: For the Fathers were sensible how the World was abused by forgeries, bearing glorious inscriptions under the pretence of *Apostolical Writings*; And therefore endeavouring to put a stop to the frauds of *Hereticks*, they limited the Canon of Scripture to such a number of Books, that so there might be left no room for these additions.

I omit setting before you the custom of the ancients to read the Epistles of *Clement*; the Book of *Hermes*, &c. And among others St *Jerom* reports that one *Effrenus*, a Deacon of the Church at *Edeffa*, had rais'd himself to such a pitch of Credit, that after the reading of the Holy Scripture, his works were publicly read in some of the Churches. But more (2) especially the *Book of Martyrs* was much in request, to keep up the Spirits of Christians under the several Persecutions of the Roman Emperors, and which had so good effect that no human means contributed more to make 'em suffer with patience and cheerfulness. And hereupon it was, the Council of *Carthage* which prohibited the reading of any thing besides Scripture in the Church, concludes thus, That notwithstanding what was decreed in that Canon, it should be lawful on the Anniversary of the Martyrs to read the account of their Sufferings. And in truth they did not forbid other Books to be read, (a) no

(2) Concil. Carthag. 3. Canon 47. (a) Concil. Carthag. 4. Canon. 16. *hereticorum pro necessitate & tempore*—apud Carthagini.

not the Books of *Hereticks* in what they were useful, provided they gave 'em not wrong *names* and Father'd 'em on the *Apostles*, which was the artifice then in practice; Otherwise they might be read, as far as they served to edification; And with this caution we now-a-days sometimes read the *Apocrypha* in our Churches.

But to come to those instances which you more insist on, *viz.* Some *repetitions* in our Service; the frequent saying of the *Lords Prayer*, and the *Musick* in a few of our Churches.

First. First, as to the *repetitions*. Which I cannot see to be so faulty as you imagine 'em, since we have so many Examples in the Holy Book to assert the use of 'em. Thus in the Song of *Deborah*, speaking of *Sisera* slain by *Jael* the wife of *Heber*, the *Kenite*, she saith (b) *at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down: at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead*——And again, v. 30. *Have they not sped? Have they not divided the prey? To Sisera a prey of diverse colours, a prey of diverse colours of needle-work, of diverse colours of needle-work on both sides*——And in *Psalms* 24. 7, 8. *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, &c.* And again, v. 9, 10. the same words. So, *Pf.* 42. 6. *Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my Soul, &c.* v. 14. the same, as also in the next *Psalms* v. 5. Again *Psalms* 46. 7. *The Lord of hosts is with us, &c.* and v. 11. the same. And, *Psalms* 107. 13. *So when they cried unto the Lord, he delivered them, &c.* and v. 19. 28. the same. And v. 15. 21, 31. we have these words thrice repeated, *Oh that Men would therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness, &c.* But of all others the most remarkable place is *Psalms* 136. where the same form of words is used, for 26. verses

(b) *Judges.* 5. 27.

together, *For his mercy endureth forever.* Nor is it otherwise in the Gospel; for we find our Lord himself in the Garden passionately addressing his Father *three times* in the very same expressions: (c) *He left 'em and went away and pray'd the third time saying the same words.* And in that affectionate prayer, he made for his disciples and the Church, he delivers himself in this manner, (d) *Holy Father, keep through thine own name those which thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are — That they all may be one, as thou Father in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us — That they may be one as we are one — I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.* — So that you see all repetitions are not faulty, but may be useful for the quickning of devotion, especially in Prayers publickly said. And therefore the thing which Christ cautions against is most likely this, (e) That we should not tumble out many insignificant words, or the same words over and over again, as the heathens were wont to do, not out of *fervency of mind*, but to *lengthen out the Prayer* as long as they could, counting this length of Words, a good quality, or what makes it more powerful or more acceptable to God.

This will better appear, if we consider the Word which the Evangelist uses, and which he borrows from an Heathen Proverb to represent his Masters meaning in this place [*μὴ βαττολογήσητε*] *do not battologize* (t) which among the Greeks signifies an *unprofitable trifling away time in words often repeated without Elegancy or any tolerable sense in 'em.* In strict English it must be rendred *the way of speech Battus used.* Now there being Two of that

(c) Matth. 26. 44. (d) John 17. 11. (e) Hammond's Pract. Catech. (f) Significat Græcis βαττολογία inutilem nugacitatem, quando idem sæpius — incondita verborum repetitione cum cædio inculcatur — Chem. Hamm. in loc.

name, pretty remarkable on this account, it will not be easy to determine *which* of 'em, or whether *both* may not be intended in that Text of St. *Matthew*. One was a Prince of the *Cyrenians* with a very shrill Voice, who stuttered much, and consequently was necessitated to repeat his words very often before he could get to the period. And so *Varinus*, and *Hesychius*, turn βασιλογεῖν into ἰχνόφωνε and τεχνόφωνε, (g) when the voice is *small* and with all *intercepted* and stopt, so that the party cannot, without much difficulty, bring forth what he intends to say. So *Beza* and *Tremellius* translate the Word [*Ne blaterate*] *do not stammer*. *Salmasius* supposes *Battus* to mean him properly (h) who cannot pronounce plainly what he has a mind to speak, but often falls on the same syllable before he can proceed. But because these repetitions, tho' frequent in such cases, are owing to the impediments and defects of nature, and are chargeable on the *Organs* or ordinary means of utterance, without any affectation or influence of the will, therefore 'tis more probable the term alludes to (i) a *Poet* of that name who abounded with *tautologies*, and was not worth taking notice of in any other respect, than for his often repeating the same expressions; and from him *Suidas* derives the Word *Battology*: and so *Ovid* represents him in

(g) Qui habet, exilem, qu. interclusam & interceptam vocem & linguam balbutientem.—ibid. (h) Qui non potest plane eloqui quod vult, uti sunt qui dicuntur μοιλαλοι, sepe enim unam Syllabam multis vocibus iterant priusquam unam Syllabam queant integram; unde Βασιλογεῖν, &c. (i) Βαττολογία ἀπὸ Βάτῃς πρὸ μακρῆς καὶ πολυσίχης ὕμνου ποιῶντος ταυτολογίας ἔχοντος—

—sub illis

Montibus inquit erant, & erant sub montibus illis

—me mihi, perfide, prodis,

Me mihi prodis, ait.

his

his *Metamorphoses*, as describing the way he took in his hymns and poems. Some think it an Appellative, and will have *Battus* derived from (k) *Ba* and *Bat* frequently heard from the mouths of Infants before they can speak, and which they pronounce without any meaning, and from them the Word is borrowed to set forth a Prayer, Poem or Speech consisting of many unnecessary, flat, empty and idle Words. St. *Chrysostom* was of opinion that the censure of the Gospel concerning repetitions reached only those prayers wherein they desired not only *Spiritual* and *Divine Blessings* but *riches*, *power* and such advantages as concern the happiness and pride of this Life. And of this mind was *Theophylact*; And *Epiphanius* calls it [*διὰ λεπτολογίας περσεύχεται*] when for *mean* and *trivial* things we say (l) *Thine is the might, the power, the honour, and glory*, &c. which is a form of doxology not bad in it self, but ill applied to matters not deserving that Emphasis. What the *Syriack* Word was which Christ himself was pleas'd to use we cannot say; Nor is it to be disputed whether St. *Matthew's* *Βαττολογήσητε* exactly answers it, and was the most proper to translate by what he heard from his Master: yet the context sufficiently clears his meaning, where forbidding us to do as the *Gentiles* did and showing with all, what their Prayers were faulty in, we may easily infer that the *Battology* in this caution, must needs intend these two things, first a multitude of phrases altogether the same, or a very little varied to lengthen out the Prayer: and Secondly a design in these Words either by their numerous repeti-

(k) Est autem βάτος κατὰ ὀνοματυπίαν ába vel bat que syllaba crebro est infantibus in ore—Vid. Vols (l) Σὴ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις. Σὸν τὸ κράτος. Σὴ ἐστὶν ἡ τιμή. Σὴ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα. Σὴ ἐστὶν ἡ εὐλογία. Σὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἰσχύς. Σὴ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις—

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tions to inform and prescribe or by their variety to charm and oblige their Gods to grant what they requested of 'em. The former of these we have in *v. 8. When you pray use not vain repetitions as the heathens do, for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.* The latter in, *v. 9. Be not therefore like unto them, for your Heavenly Father knoweth what you have need of before you ask him*—Where he opposes his Father who knew all things to the Gods of the Heathens who where presumed not to know their wants unless they spake of 'em, and thereupon offer'd *many* and the *same* Prayers to inform and prevail on 'em. Christ's meaning was to teach his disciples what their Prayers were to be, not such as the Hebrew Doctors call [*labi-
orum- elocutionem*] the bare found of Words, which was all the infidels took care of; but what came from the *Heart* and show'd the sense themselves had of their wants, which God knew before they were expressed, and had compassion enough to ease 'em, before he was asked, yet would be asked to make them know from whence their relief came. (m) Now that the heathens abounded in these unnecessary and barren *tautologies*, or as our translation has it in *vain repetitions*, both in their *Civil* and *Religious* Addresses, we every where find. The latter of which we have an example of in the *priests of Baal*, who called from morning to evening, saying, (n) *O Baal, hear us, and,*

(m) *Φεῦ Φεῦ, ἰὼ ἰὼ*—*paricida trabatur rogemus, Auguste, paricida trabatur, hoc rogemus paricida trabatur*—*exaudi Cæsar delatores ad leonem, exaudi Cæsar, delatores ad leonem, exaudi Cæsar*—*Antonine Pie dii te servant. Antonine Clemens dii te servant, Antonine Clemens dii te servant.* Lampr. in Com.—c. 18:
(n) 1 K. 18. 26. *Continuo sex horarum spatio*—*iisdem vocibus*—*adclamarent*—Selden de diis Syris Proleg. c. 3.

as the prophet jeers 'em for it, they cried in this loud manner, for fear he should be in a *sleep*, or on a *journey*, or *pursuing the enemy*, and so probably might not hear them, unless they were instant, clamorous, and using the same Words a long while, to make him understand what they expected from him. And so the *Ephesians* for two hours together cried out in no other Words, but (o) Great is Diana of the *Ephesians*-----They did [*κεδῆεν*] bawl aloud in the same tone like *crows*, from whom the Metaphor is taken, their whole zeal depending on those *Epiphonema's*, in commending and magnifying their Goddess with the same Words. (p) We may add, that it was the way of those *Pagans* to heap up in their Prayers the several titles of their Gods and Goddesses, out of a conceit, that this was an instance of their respect and that it mightily pleas'd 'em. So the Sun was called *Sol*, *Phœbus*, *Apollo*, *Hyperion*, &c. and the Moon *Luna*, *Isis*, *Diana*, *Trivia*, *Hecate*, and by many other names which gave her the Stile of *μυριάων*, or the Goddess with a thousand titles; and after this manner are composed some *Arabick hymns* containing an hundred Words to the same purpose. Now tho' all repetitions are not forbid, whether consisting of the same or *Synonymous Words*, in case they are zealously and affectionately said, yet we are not to heap up Words before God, as if he measured our Prayers by the length of 'em, or valued more the voice which sounded, than the *Heart* which conceived 'em. This is a great fault in the *Papacy*,

(o) Acts 19. 34, (p) *Titulorum varietate capi deos, placari & ad vota suscitari, maximoque inde affici honore putabant, quod multiplex potestas Imperium imprimis ita agnosceretur* — *Habes in Arabicis canticis* — *ubi centum amplius nomina*, &c. Vid. Maimonid. in more Nevoch.

where they lay so great a stress on the *Opus Operatum*, that they constantly use *beads* for fear they should fail in the number of their *Ave-Maria's* and other Devotions, how short soever they otherwise are in the qualifications of Prayer, and whether their Desires and Thoughts have any interest or no in 'em, and yet the Gospel saith that God will be worshipped rather *in Spirit and truth*. Briefly those Prayers which have vain and superfluous Words, as St. *Augustine* speaks, and (q) the *Persian* Translation so renders it: Or tho' made up of proper language are repeated by the mouth, but have no communication with the heart, and are at great distance from the mind of the votary, these are the *repetitions* in Prayer which do not become a Christian, *vain repetitions*, Heathen *Batologies*, and Words said over and over again, to make their Deities first hear and then grant their petitions.

What *repetitions* then occur in the *Liturgy*, a sober man should consider some of 'em at least, the very *ejaculations* and *sentences* of *Scripture*, and the rest correspondent to it in grave, proper and plain language, which if People were not indifferent and cold in, would certainly contribute to help Devotion and raise the affections which it ought to proceed from. And if not, they make 'em indeed such repetitions as our Lord censures [*otiosos sine mente sonos*] idle, heathenish and without effect, for want of ingaging the *Soul* and *Spirit*, whose earnestness and fervency is not a little discerned when we patiently and piously (after those patterns we have in the Holy Book). say over the same thing in our Prayers or Praises to God. These iterations so qualified are so many *testimonies* of

(r) *Multa vana ne prolequamini* Pers.

true Zeal, and *signs* that our *affections* and *hearts* go with 'em, which is what God expects in these words, and they no otherwise do or can inform and charm him. And if some *Preachers* out of the pale of our Church, had not this Apology to offer for themselves, I doubt they would be much to seek for reasons to justify, not only the *length* of their Prayers, but which in a great measure occasions that length, the *repeating* over the same words to ingage God to attend to 'em.

But of these repetitions, the recital of the *Lord's-Prayer*, is more particularly mention'd. A Prayer which the Ancients call, *the salt of all divine Offices, and without which these have no savour* (r). And truly, if we are Christians, we must be perswade that Christ has taught us those things, which are most edifying and useful, because he is the only Author of our Salvation; and so desirous of it, that he suffer'd Death in order to accomplish it; and therefore to be sure, if a better Prayer could have been thought on, our careful Master would not have omitted it. As much therefore as Christ excels all the Prophets, all Men, ay and Angels, so much is this Prayer beyond all others; Nor can it be supposed any other should be more acceptable to the (i) *Father*, than what his own beloved *Son* has set us, a Prayer not to be denied, because he made it, who is the Mediator between God and Man, our constant advocate and intercessor. Hath not Christ said, *Whatsoever you ask in my Name, &c.* — How much rather grant what we ask, when we not only ask in his *name*, but in his *Language* also. Especially when God has said, *This is my beloved Son — Hear him.* And if we hear him, he will the rather hear us, when we

(r) *Ferus* in Matth. (i) *Cypr. de Orat Dom.*

speak or pray to him in that form of words
 he has taught us, a form which in a very compre-
 hensive way, contains all things needful for *Soul*
 and *Body*; a form which comprehends all the
 Prayers of Scripture and of the Holy Men in it, and
 wants nothing to procure us *present* and *future* hap-
 piness. “For this cause our Custom is (accord-
 “ing to the example of our Pious Ancestors (both
 “to place it at the (*k*) front of our Prayers as a
 “guide, and to add it at the (*l*) end of some
 “principal limbs or parts of our Service, as a
 “Complement, which fully perfecteth whatso-
 “ever may be defective in the rest. (*m*) Twice
 “we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftner as the
 “Service requires solemnity and length, not mi-
 “strusting that any Man has reason to think our
 “labour or time mispent, and our Worship the
 “worse by repeating that, which otherwise would
 “not be made so familiar to the simple sort, for
 “the good of whose Souls there is not in the
 “Christian Religion, any thing of like continual
 “use, and force throughout every hour and mo-
 “ment of their whole lives——The Church
 “has prescribed it therefore after the absolution
 “for repentance; after the word of God read,
 “and the saying of the Creed, for assistance in
 “holiness and confirmation of Faith; in the Li-
 “tany for deliverance from evil; in the Commu-
 “nion Service to dispose us for a penitent hearing
 “of the Law of God; and for sanctifying to us
 “what we eat and drink in the holy Sacrament,
 “never too often, never superfluously, never
 “with superstition. For how can we too often

(*k*) *Premissa legitima & ordinaria oratione quasi fun-
 damento*——Tertull. (*l*) *Quam totam petitionem ferè om-
 nis Ecclesia dom. Oratione concludit.* Aug. Ep. 59. (*m*)
 Hooker Eccl. Pol. l. 5. c. 35.

“ join his most perfect Prayer to ours, that are so
 “ imperfect, since by him both we and our Pray-
 “ ers are alone made acceptable? Those who pre-
 “ sented Petitions to the *Roman* Emperors, drew
 “ them by the direction of some judicious Law-
 “ yer; but we have this sacred Form from the
 “ wonderful Councillour, who came out of the bo-
 “ some of his Father, and knew his Treasures, as
 “ well as our wants; he best could inform us, what
 “ was fit for us to ask and what most likely for
 “ him to grant; he was to go to Heaven to be
 “ our advocate there, and he hath taught us to
 “ use this here, that there might be an harmony
 “ between our requests and his. What zeal, and
 “ height of Devout affections are sufficient to of-
 “ fer up this Prayer, which was drawn by the great
 “ Master of requests, and Orderer of all intercourse
 “ between God and Man? How sure is this of ac-
 “ ceptance, which is stamp’d with his Image, sign’d
 “ with his hand and sent in his name? His Power
 “ will make it prevalent, and God’s love to his
 “ dear Son most acceptable. For what can pierce
 “ the Ears or melt the Heart of a tender Father,
 “ more readily than the Voice of his only and be-
 “ loved Son(n)? Are not these motives for us to
 use it reverently and heartily? And do they not
 well excuse (if that word be proper here) the Piety
 of the Church for repeating this Prayer so often,
 which has the Royal stamp of divine Authority,
 and which may make amends for our other Petiti-
 ons, not so zealously put up by reason of many
 intervening distractions apt to draw us aside, and
 cool us in our most intent and resolved Devotion.

(n) *Comler’s Companion to the Temple.* P. 1. Sect. 5
 P. 2. Sect. 2.

B. What Rout is that yonder?

A. By the noise they make and the disorder they go in, they seem to be Men who have drunk more than does 'em good.

B. Not unlikely. And therefore, Sir, I think it the best way to turn back, and mend our pace towards the Town, for it is a misfortune attends Men in drink, that they are not only quarrelsome, but they make no distinction between those who do, and do not offend 'em, and are sometimes very abusive without provocation.

A. Do as you please—— And truly now I think on't, I promised to meet a Friend at the Coffee-House much about this hour, but I profess had forgot it but for this interruption.

B. I thought to have begg'd the Favour to spend a few minutes by the way at my habitation, but seeing I am prevented, I insist not on it ; yet I hope you will remember where you left off, and I pray favour me so far as to make up this loss in the Afternoon to Morrow.

A. If nothing hinders, I shall comply with you, and till then

Adieu.

The

The Sixth DIALOGUE.

The CONTENTS.

Musick in the Church Vindicated. The Antiquity and Usefulness of it in Devotion. What Saul's Spirit was, which David's Musick allay'd. The effect it had on Elisha. St. Augustine's Experience of it. Its Power shew'd by the fabulous stories of Orpheus, &c. How it composes the Passions. King Charles's Declaration about Recréations on the Lord's-day, and the Apologies of some Divines on that subject considered. The Doctrine of our Church, and the Laws of the Nation require the strict Observation of the Lord's-day. The several Parties who abuse it. The Office for it as to Devotion and Practice. The time when it begins and ends.

A. **I** Have for some time observed your attention to this Consort of *Musick*, which to my thinking is very fine; Neither can I well tell, whether the *Instruments* or *Voices* excelled. They *both* deserve their Praise. And I hope this lucky Adventure may somewhat contribute to soften your *Objection* Yesterday, and make you less averse to a thing, which if you should any longer dispute against, you must needs quarrel with your own *Senses*.

B. My being alone caus'd me to step aside for this Entertainment; Not that I take any delight in hearing the *Musick*, which I look upon as a ve-
ry

ry odd accomplishment in Young Men and Women, and bordering very near on *Vanity*, but being by my self, as I said, I was invited, as many others might be in the like case, to hearken to what I do not approve; yet was contented to bear with it for want of Opportunity to employ my Senses better. However, this is understood to be the Diversion of *idle hours*, but my objection chiefly aim'd at what is done in the *Church*, and at such times when we pretend to be more *grave* and *serious*, and 'tis in that I crave your Answer.

A. Well, as to this kind of *Musick*, it is to be supposed you do not in all respects, and simply condemn the use of it, because then there must be laid aside a very essential part of *their Worship*, whom you so much favour in this Objection: And the *Psalms* in *Metre* must be heard no longer, which is Devotion in *Singing*. But you mean the more Artificial way we use by *Voice*, *Organ*, and other *Instruments*, beyond the capacity of every ordinary Man and Woman, and wherein they have no interest or share, but what relates to the matter, which the Members of the *Choir* so melodiously Sing, and in which they cannot join with 'em. This then we are to explain and justify, and we may the more easily do it, from the *Institution* of *David*——(a) *The Priests waited on their Offices, the Levites also with Instruments of Musick of the Lord, which David the King had made to Praise the Lord, because his mercy endureth for ever, and the Priests sounded Trumpets before 'em*——So *Hezekiah* set the *Levites* in the House of the Lord with *Cymbals*, with *Psalteries* and *Harp*s, according to the Cominandment of *David*; nay more, of *Gad* the King's *Seer* and *Nathan* the Prophet, and further

(a) 2 Chro. 29. 25, 27.

still, So was the Commandment of the Lord by the Prophets——'Tis true, *David* had no small skill in *Musick* and *Poetry*, and thereupon perhaps you may think he introduced a Worship suitable to his *Genius*; But he had certainly other motives; for he found by Experience how necessary both were for the Service of God to raise attention, to sweeten humane affections towards God, and make us (b) delight in his Worship. So that being inabled by the Spirit of God, he writ and left behind him many *Psalms* for the benefit of the *Jewish* Church, which they constantly used in the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*. And as we still retain the *Hymns* themselves, so we do in a low degree the manner of expressing 'em, and the other parts of the Worship, as far as it consists with the seriousness, and gravity of the *Christian* Religion.

Nor can you surely suspect it an Article of the *Ceremonial Law*, which was to have a Period at the coming of *Messias*, because not only before the delivery of that Law, (c) *The Children of Israel* sung unto the Lord with their Voices saying, &c. And *Miriam* the Prophetess, the Sister of *Aaron*, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the Women (in the Nature of a Chorus) went one after another with timbrels, and with dances, and *Miriam* answered, sing ye unto the Lord, &c. but we also find the *Gentiles* taking the same course; and as an instance of the *Law of Nature*, they set forth the Honour and Praises of their Gods, both by Instruments and Voices, as we see in their *Fanualia*, *Minervia*, and the like Poems and Verses composed by the Ancient *Romans*, and Sung to the Honour of those Gods, whose names they bear. So the *Greeks* had their

(b) *Persuadet autem quicquid suave est, & animo penitus dum delectat insidet.* Lactant. de Vero Cultu. c. 21. (c) *Ezra* 15. 1. 20. 21.

solemn Hymns, some to their *Propitious Gods*, which they called κλητὲς ὕμνους, and the Latins, *Indigitamenta*; Othersto their *Vejoves*, or *hurtful Deities*, which they stiled ὕμνους ἀποτροπαιεύς, The *Romans*, *Carmen averruncale*, appeasing Hymns, and for the removal of incumbent Calamities. Thus *Apollo* had his Παιδῶν, *Ceres* her Ἰέλος, *Bacchus* his *Dithyrambus*, &c. which the Priests and People took care to Sing, with the greatest Zeal and the best skill they had in their respective Solemnities. So that if you will take it for a *Ceremony*, it was *such* as all Nations conspired in the use of And therefore as it had not its being from the *Law of Moses*, so neither is there any reason that the repeal of *that Law* should abrogate a Custom, practised indeed under that *Oeconomy*, but which had not its *Original* or *Institution* from it.

And yet were it so, why may not the *Christian-Church* by vertue of her Liberty recal some Expedients, for the better Worship of God, from the *Tabernacle, Temple or Synagogue*? And as we have borrowed several particulars of the *Judicial*, and *National Law* of the Jews, why not take some of the Ceremonial likewise, such as are serviceable to set forth the Grandeur of the Gospel? For my part, I am not angry to hear a *Psalms* of *David* sung in the Church, though set by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, and which, while they are singing it, is by me as little understood, as those *Anthems* made by better Masters, unless I have a Book in my hand; and that is an help that will make the other Hymns intelligible and easy. You would smile if I should call the singing of *Psalms* a piece of *Judaism*; And why is one way of Singing so named more than another, when they differ not in kind but degrees, and the only fault is, that there is not *less Piety*, but much *more skill* in the latter?

'Tis

'Tis evident our *Lord* used this Method of Devotion, (d) for he *Sung an Hymn* with his Disciples a little before his Passion. And I question not, but it was with such melody and sweetness, as became that sacred Mouth, which had no imperfection to give a check to the skill of the Singer. And St. *Chrysostom* in an homily on the place, saith, That he therefore gave thanks and sung an Hymn, to leave us an example to do the same. And elsewhere he Admonishes us, (e) to consider what the Apostles did after the holy Supper. Did they not return (saith he) to prayer and singing of Psalms? And on this reason (f) a Council of *Toledo*, Excommunicates those who presume to reject these Hymns in the Churches. (g) 'Tis St. *Paul's* Exhortation to the *Colossians*, that they should teach [or edifie one another] in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs——or to join the Words with what follows, *Singing with Grace to the Lord* in that manner. Yet if we refer it to the beginning of the Verse, the Apostle knew well enough that the expedient was good in Order to Admonish, i.e. mutually heighten each others Devotion, let the matter or subject of the Anthem be what it will, (h) whether concerning the Majesty and Power of God, the make and order of the Creatures, or Moral Lessons for vertue and sober living, as the Interpreters of the Text distinguish the Words. So again, he exhorts the (i) *Ephesians*, to speak to themselves in Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, singing and making melody in their Hearts unto the Lord——where if the Apostle bethought to intend only private singing in their own Houses,

(d) Matth 26. 30. (e) In 1 Cor. 11. (f) Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. Apud Garanz. (g) Colos. 3. 16. (h) Beza in loc. (i) Ephes. 5. 19.

yet without Controversie, the same was done in the Church or Publick, as appears from what we read in another Epistle ——— (k) *How is it then, Brethren? When you come together, every one of you has a Psalm*—The Church has from Age to Age followed this Pattern: And though probably at first it was little more than a *melodious* kind of *pronunciation*, and after the manner of a *plain Song*, yet in process of time, and by degrees it became a more exact and artificial Harmony: And in St. *Augustine's* Days it grew so excellent, that it drew many to the Church, and gave opportunity to win 'em over to the Christian Religion.

As for its *Antiquity*, besides those Examples before cited; (l) *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* mentions, τῶν ψαλμῶν ἱερολογία, and saith, That all the Priests were required to sing Psalms at the celebration of the sacred mysteries—and (m) *Socrates* reports, that *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, saw a Vision of Angels celebrating the Holy Trinity with alternate Hymns; And thereupon introduced that way of singing into the Church of *Syria*, whence the Tradition was convey'd to other Churches. I must confess, I a little doubt the truth of this Passage; for though I have a respect for the way, and consider it done by those Blessed Spirits about the Throne of God, yet I cannot think it worth the while for a Chöre of Angels, to descend from Heaven to prescribe it to us. And therefore (n) *Theodoret* contradicts the Tradition, and saith, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, long after, were the first who divided the Chöre into two parts, and taught the *Syrians* to sing *David's Psalms* interchangeably or by turns, which beginning at *Antioch*, proceeded to other

(k) 1 Cor. 14. 26. (l) De Hierarch. (m) Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 8. (n) Ecc l Hist. l. 2. c. 24.

Churches, and at length reach'd the utmost limits of the Earth, (o) yet neither can I assent to this, if any credit may be given *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, a City in *Cilicia*, co-temporary with *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, who saith; That they indeed first translated these Hymns, alternately Sung, from the *Syrian* Language into Greek; And from thence the mistake arose of being *Authors* of this use, because they appear'd so to other Nations on the account of the translation. However long before them, (p) *Eusebius* informs us from *Philo*, that the *Ascete* in *Egypt* (whom that Author reckons among the converts to Christianity) not only gave themselves up to a contemplative Life, but they made *Songs* and *Hymns* to the Praise of God, in all kinds of *Metre* and *Tunes*, such as are wont to be Sung among us, i. e. One began the *Psalms* in a tuneable way, and the rest assisted in the last clauses of it.—— The reason whereof probably was, because all the Company not being equally skilled in chanting the Service, they were not to be concerned till towards the end of the Hymn, to avoid thereby those confused and disharmonious sounds, which would necessarily be made from the great variety of unmanaged Voices. And this occasioned those two *Canons* in the Councils of (q) *Trullo* and (r) *Laodicea*, wherein the Fathers decreed, That none should sing in the Church besides the Members of the Choir, and such as Sung by Book. Not that the Congregation were forbid, saith *Balsamon*, to sing with the others, provided they Sung by Note, and did not (which was the fault) bawle, and with a rude clamour drown the Voices of those who Sung bet-

(o) Vid. Valef. Annot. in Theodoret——(p) Eccl. Hist. 12. c. 17. Vid. Valef. in loc. (q) Can. 75. (r) Can. 15.

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ter—Every Body might sing, as *Aristenus* glosses on the *Canon*, who could do it well, but if not he was by no means to disturb the *Choir*—— So that these two *Councils* which regulate the form of singing in their Ages, prove it a Custom of very Ancient standing. But before them (t) *Pliny II.* in his Letter to *Trajan*, tells the Emperor, that Christians did rise before day, and sing an Hymn to Christ as God—— And this he said was done [*Secum in vicem*] alternately. And so in more words, (u) *Basil* explains it. That it was then the common Custom of the Churches to go very early, while it was yet dark, to the place of Meeting; and there having confessed their Sins and pray'd, they all rose up to sing a Psalm, and dividing themselves into two parts, they answered one another in course: And after this the *Precentor*, or some other Person qualified for that purpose, began an Hymn, and the rest followed him according to their parts: With which variety of Singing, some Prayers being said between, they spent the Night—— Thus he: And because *Sabellius*, and *Marcellus*, took occasion from hence to incense the Churches against him, as the Author of a New device, in the Service of God, because he had brought this way of Singing into his Church, before they of *Neocæsarea* used it, that he might avoid the charge of singularity and Novelty (which is what they offer'd against him) he vindicates himself by the Authority of the several Churches in *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Thebes*, *Palestine*, *Pœnicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, which did the same thing. And he might well clear himself of Innovation, when the Council of *Antioch*, before his time, censured *Paulus Samosatenus* for exploding, as new things, those

(t) L. 10. Ep. 101. A Testimony *Tertullian* makes use of in his Apology (u) Ep. ad *Neocæsar*——

Psalms and *Hymns*, the Christians of that Age sung to the honour of Christ. And *Eusebius* giving an account of diverse Authors, whose names he could not learn, mentions *one* very Ancient, who disputing against the errors of *Artemon*, (which *Paulus Samosatenus* afterwards revived) among other arguments for the proof of *Christ's Divinity*, he proposes this, That it was the doctrine of the Elder times for this reason, (w) *Because the Psalms and Hymns written long ago by the Faithful, did celebrate Christ as God.*—Which indeed the very notion of an Hymn supposes, if *St. Augustine* Judges right, who makes it consist of these three Parts. Praise, (x) the Praise of God, and a Song; and if any one of these be wanting, it is not an Hymn. That they Sung in the Days of *Gregory Nazianzen*, appears in one of his Orations against *Julian*. And because the *Arians* made and Sung Hymns suited to their Heresie, and did it for the greater part of the Night, (y) therefore *St. Chrysostom*, fearing lest the simpler sort of People might be drawn away from the Church on the account of this Singing, that he might countertermine the *Arians*, and confirm the *Catholicks* in the Faith, which the others sought to shake by this Artifice, he appointed some of his own Communion to sing at the same hours — Not that he begun this practice in the *Greek Church*, to sing after that manner, but he was forced to apply this expedient at such unseasonable times, as the Hereticks used; and might perhaps have some new *Anthems* made, besides what the Church commonly Sung out of the *Psalms*, and other Books of Scripture, in opposition to those the *Arians* had to

(w) Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 28. (x) *Hymni sunt cantus contrinentes laudem Dei, si sit laus & non sit Dei, non est Hymnus.* In Psalm. (y) *Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 8.*

expose and lessen the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as we may see if we carefully read the *Historian* in that Chapter.

Thus in the *Eastern-Church*. But for the *Western* to which we belong, we do not find that it had any firm footing till Pope *Damasus* came to the Chair, who writ a Letter to St. *Ferom* then at *Jerusalem*, to desire him to transmit to Rome the (a) manner of singing *Psalms* among the *Greeks*; Which he (b) accordingly did, and thereupon the Tradition commenced, that this Pope first decreed, that *Psalms* should be alternately sung, (c) and the *Gloria Patri*—always added to conclude 'em. But St. *Augustine* refers it to his Master St. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milain*, who being persecuted by *Justina*, and the People forced to watch in the Church, he thought it necessary to introduce the *Eastern Custom* of Singing *Psalms* to keep up their Spirits, and not let 'em sink under that affliction; and from thence the practice spread it self over all the Provinces of the *West*——which does not much thwart the report before concerning Pope *Damasus*, because those two Bishops being co-etaneous; the One, on this occasion, might begin that at *Milain*, which the other near the same time had done at *Rome*. Yet *Tertullian* in his *Apology* saith, that the People in and before his time, were wont to challenge one another to Sing Hymns to God, either made by themselves or taken out of the Bible: But then it must be considered, that though he himself was a *Latin*, he speaks [*De Christianorum coetibus*] of *Christians* at large, and so may mean the Churches of the *East*, where this use had been of a long standing. And if this be doubtful, yet we

(a) *Psallentium Græcorum*. *Damas. Ep. ad Hieron.* (b) *Platina de vit. Pontif.* (c) *Stella de gestis Pont.*

learn that about the year 139. *Telephorus* Bishop of *Rome* writ a decretal Epistle, wherein he required the Clergy six Weeks before *Easter*, to Sing the *Angelical Hymn*— as *Platina*, and *Stella* tell us ; which gives some colour to what *Baronius* asserts, That *this Custom is as old as the Roman See.*

'Tis not easie to discover the date when this practice began in *England*, or (d) whether it came hither with the first Preaching of the Gospel. *Bede* relates it of *Paulinus*, that when he was made Bishop of *Rochester*, about the year 631. he left behind him in the North, one *James* a Deacon, a Man excellent in *Church Musick*, who taught 'em that form of Divine Service he had learnt at *Canterbury*. And after, in the year 668. when Archbishop *Theodorus* made his Metropolitcal Visitation, the art of Singing Service, which was then only used in (e) *Kent*, was generally taken up all over the Kingdom. And whereas Pope *Vitalianus* added the *Organ* to that *Vocal Musick*, which was before in use in the Christian Church, in less then 30 Years after it was introduced into the Churches of *Britain*, and hath continued ever since without interruption. But more of this by and by. In the mean while we see by these testimonies what the practice of the Church was in her greatest purity, and in times when her outward Circumstances were such, that she had little reason to use any sort of *Musick* or Harmony, but what was adjudged suitable and necessary for Devotion, and wherein, (f) as *St. Augustine* speaks,

(d) *Heylin's History of the Sabbath*. Pa. 2. chap. 7. sect. 2.
 (e) *Sonos cantandi in Ecclesia quos eatenus in Cantia tantum
 neverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Ecclesias discere
 ceperunt.* Bed Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 2. (f) *De Hymnis & Psalmis
 canendis ipsius Domini & Apostolorum documenta, exempla
 & præcepta habere Ecclesiam, &c.* Ep. 119.

She has her warrant from the Doctrine, examples and command of Christ and his Apostles. Sometimes, as St. Basil saith, they all Sung together, as if they had one Mouth as well as one Heart. Sometimes they divided, and each side sung in his course. Sometimes one began, and the rest Sung after him. And sometimes again the Congregation did not put in, till towards the end of the Hymn——This, I say, was their way; which the present Church, at her Cathedral Service, doth so exactly follow. And it is to be wish'd, we had that Harmony and Sweetness of Temper, that cheerfulness in Religion, that assurance of the joys of Heaven those holy People had, and of all which the *Musick* at their Worship was the signification and emblem. The hard usage they daily met with, could not make them despond or render 'em *sower* and *peevish* to one another. That Providence permitted ill Men to handle 'em roughly, could not prevail on 'em to be *sullen* in his Service; And though they were seemingly miserable in this World, and that the Condition they underwent, called for sighs and tears, rather than any instance of satisfaction and joy, yet they saw, with *Isaiab*, and heard what was done in Heaven, where the *Seraphims* stood before the Throne of God, and cried one to another, saying, (g) *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hosts, the whole World is full of thy Glory.*

Hitherto there was no melodious Service in the Western Church but what depended on the *Voice*; yet about the Year 653. or according to *Onuphrius* four Years after, when the State of the Church would better bear it, Pope *Vitalianus*, as I was just now saying, added the *Organ* to help the *Voice* in celebrating the Praises of God. For as he was

(g) If. 6. 3.

a Man very constant in his attendance on the Worship of God, so he made it his business to find out any expedient, which might invite other People to the same diligence—*Platina* indeed speaks doubtfully of it, *As some will have it* (saith he) and thereby seems to question the Tradition. And there are those who derive it from *Constantinople*, as sent by one of the Emperors there to King *Pepin*. Others attribute it to *Lewis the Godly*. But the generality fix it on *Vitalianus*; Though it is not unlikely, but as the practice of *Singing by Voice* commenced first in the *Greek Church*, and at length came to the *West*, so likewise might the *Organ* be transmitted hither, as some of those Authors conceive who draw the *Original* of it from *Greece* and *Constantinople*. But whoever was the beginner of it, certainly the thing was not done without good advice; (b) *There being nothing more Powerful than melody, both Vocal and Instrumental for ingaging the affections. Nor any thing wherein the Militant Church here on Earth, hath more resemblance to the Church in Heaven Triumphant, than in the sacred and harmonious way of Singing Praises, and Hallelujahs to our Lord God, which is, and has been long used in the Church of Christ.*

I go not about to vindicate the abuses of this kind in after Ages, which served more to please the *Ear* than help *Devotion*. The Ancients themselves who practised, and recommended this Custom of the Church had too often reason to complain, and caution People what to do in it. God regardeth more the *affection of the Mind*, (i) as *St. Jerom* speaks, *Than the sweetness of the Voice*. (k) The Praises and Hymns most grateful to him, are not

(b) *Heylin*. P. 2. c. 3. § 12. (i) *Ep. 4. ad Rustic*. (k) *De plant. Noæ*.

such as an *Obstreperous Voice* sounds out, as what proceed from an *invisible and pure Soul*. So *Philo*. And therefore *St. Augustine* reflects on the *Donatists*, for singing *Psalms* of their own invention, and being proud that they sung so well. (l) And the same *Father* confesses with no little trouble, that he himself had sometimes given more attention to the *Notes, and Musical part of the Hymns sung in the Church than to the words and matter*; which he thought a very great fault, and was much concern'd, that he, or any other should so much mistake the design of the Church in admitting these *Notes*, which was by this means to set off the matter of the Hymn, and not to make the Hymn for the sake of the Musick. This brought him one while to the Opinion, That the *Use in Alexandria*, under *Athanasius* appear'd safer, when the Minister was required so to order his Voice, that of the two it should more incline to reading than singing, and be rather graceful than harmonious. Yet he owns withal, he could not but approve the Custom of singing in the Church, That so through the pleasure of the Ears the feeble mind might be raised up to an higher pitch of Piety. However we find they went too far, more time and pains being spent in these composures than the Church at first intended; (m) and at length the Clergy themselves became so busy and vain in it, that it gave great offence and (n) occasioned *Gregory the Great*, to prescribe [*Simplicem cantionem*] plain singing: And the subject to be (o) from Scripture; And the form of words out of the Book of *Psalms*: And the Organ to be play'd to no other than these, and

(l) Confess. l. 10. (m) Vid. Zonaram in Can. 22. Concil. Laod (n) Greg. M l. 4. Ep. 44. (o) Extra Psalmos V. T. nihil poetice compositum in Ecclesia psallatur. Concil. Bracar. i. Canon. 30.

with such sounds and notes as became the gravity of God's Service, (p) Lest instead of Devotion it might be the cause of some other Passion——The fault of the latter Ages, and what is done commonly in the Church of Rome, is thus described, by Cornelius Agrippa, *The Musick and Anthems of the Church now*, saith he, *serve rather to excite lust than elevate the Soul of the Votary, while they sing out the Service, not so much with humane Voice as that of Beasts.* (q) *They bellow out the Tenour, bark the Counter point, roar the Treble, and grunt the Bass——* i. e. The strains are so different and surprizing, that what with the *shrillness* of some parts, the *hoarseness* of others, and *hideousness* of the whole, the Ears are possess'd with such violence and tumult, as serve only to distract the Brain, but ingage not the Heart, and in a word contribute to the hearer no benefit at all.

B. I am of his mind; For I cannot see what benefit can be reaped from these *unintelligible sounds*, or what help they can administer to *Edification*.

A. 'Tis true; If by *Edification* you mean the *Improvement of Knowledge*, and that the Understanding is thereby bettered, in this case *Musick* doth not *edifie*, because it doth not *teach*. Yet it cannot be said to be *unprofitable*, especially in Devotion, because it worketh on the *affections*, and makes Men more active and vigorous in expressing the matter of the Service. The reason before given, why it is thought most expedient to use a form of Words in our Prayers and Praises to God, is, because then we have nothing to do, but to apply our affections to what we are saying; and if a

(p) *Ne lasciviam magis quam devotionem excitet——* Durant. de ritib. Eccl. Cath. l. 1. c. 13. (q) *Hinniant Discantum, mugiunt tenorem, latrant Contrapunctum, boant Altum, frendent Bassum——* De Van. Scient.

Prayer be not *Zealous*, 'tis no *Prayer* at all, for that is a *Zealous Prayer* which is affectionately offered. So that any thing which will help to raise these affections in *Prayer*, must needs be understood to be a necessary adjunct of it; and he that denies *Musick* this effect, runs counter to the received Opinion, and common sense and experience of all Mankind. (r) *Plato* affirms, it penetrates to the most inward parts and recesses of the Soul; *Athenæus*, that it Charms the Mind; Others that there is no disposition or habit of the Soul, but what it manages and rules. And hence it is that *Pythagoras* judged the Soul it self, to be no other than *Harmony*, or as *Aristotle* speaks, of near kin to it. And certainly the force of it is such, and so pleasing effects it hath on that part of Man, which is the most Divine, that many have thereby been induced to think, that the Soul it self by Nature is or hath in it *Harmony*. (s) So *Cicero*. (t) The reason hereof is, saith *Mr. Hooker*, That admirable facility *Musick* hath, to express and represent to the mind more inwardly than any other sensible means, the steps and inflections, the turns and varieties of all Passions which the mind is subject to. And of this we have no better proof than that of our daily experience, when we find ourselves differently moved according to the *Musick* we hear. (u) For some sorts of it settle the affections and others stir them, some render us grave, heavy and melancholy, others quick, brisk and aery, and put us in a kind of ecstasy, filling

(r) De Rep. l. 3. (s) Aut animam esse harmoniam, aut harmoniam habere. Tuscul. Qu. (t) Omnes affectus Spiritus nostri pro sua diversitate habent proprios modos in voce atq; cantu quorum occulta familiaritate excitantur. Aug. Confess. l. 10. Tho. 22. Q. 91. Art. 2. (u) Ea vis est sonorum ut animum concitatum tranquillent, alii torpentem excitent & rebus magnis præparant, &c. Horn. in Sulpit. Sev. l. 1.

the mind with raptures of joy, and for a time, in a manner severing it from the Body. So that though we altogether set aside the consideration of the matter of what is play'd or sung, the very harmony of sounds fitly framed and convey'd from the Ear to the Spiritual faculties, is by a native puissance and efficacy greatly available to bring the Soul to a perfect temper in case of disturbance, compose and quiet all the disorders within; and as on some occasions it quickens the Spirits, so when too eager and violent it serves to allay 'em.

Thus it is said of *Clineas* the *Pythagorean*, that when he was angry he would always go and play on his Harp to subdue the fierceness of his mind. And it was the ordinary Custom of that Sect before they went to sleep, to take that or some other Instrument to compose the mind, in case any thing had happen'd to puzzle or disorder it. (w) The same means *David* used to recover *King Saul* to his right mind, and chase away the *Evil Spirit*, which being fundamentally nothing else but a sower and distracted temper of mind (a) arising from *Melancholy*, grief and malice, wherewith he was at that time vexed, the proper cure of it was the *Harmony* and melody of *David's Musick*, which was therefore made use of to compose his mind, and to allay those turbulent Passions. But we have a very remarkable example of this kind in *Elisha*, when *Jehosaphat* came to him, and brought *Jehoram* with him, whose sight put him into such a fit of Passion, that he delivers himself thus, (b) *As the Lord of hosts liveth before whom I stand, surely were it*

(w) 1 Sam. 19. 9. (a) *Hebræi, Josephus, Cajetanus, Delirio censent fuisse atram bilem sive melancholiam & paviam quæ in Saulo causabatur suspiciones, invidiam, mærorem, furores, deliria*———*Hornius* loc. cit. (b) 2 King. 3. 15, 16.

not that I regard the presence of Jehosaphat King of Judah, I would not look towards thee and see thee—— However in respect to him he resolves to answer 'em; But before he was able to act the Prophets part, he called for a *Minstrel*; and it came to pass when the *Minstrel* play'd, the band of the Lord came upon him, and he said, &c.—— It may be demanded, why so great a Prophet of God, going about that grave and serious work of prophecy, should require so youthful an expedient to qualify him for it? But it seems it was very requisite at this time; And the *Rabbins* in the general make a free, cheerful and generous Spirit so necessary to a Prophet, that it has commenced a Proverb with 'em, *That the Holy Ghost never abides with a melancholy Man*—— *The Spirit of Prophecy never rests upon any but one whose Passions are allay'd*—— *The Spirit of Prophecy dwells not with sadness*—— *Every Man when he is in Passion, if he be a Wise-Man, his Wisdom is taken away, if a Prophet his Prophecy*—— *When a Man is disturbed through Anger or Passion, the Holy Spirit forsakes him*—— And for the Proof of this, they propose the example of *Jacob*, who all the while he grieved for *Joseph*, the *Shechinah* or holy Spirit did forsake him—— So they say of this Prophet, that from the Day that his Master *Elijah* was taken up into Heaven, the Spirit of prophecy remain'd not with him for a certain time, for for this cause he was very sorrowful, and the divine Spirit does not reside with heaviness. Likely it is, that the sight of *Jehoram*, an idolatrous Prince, did not a little inrage him, but yet the compassion he had for *Jehosaphat*, and the People of *Israel* with him, in so evident a danger, wherein the Enemies of God threatned 'em destruction, this consideration exceedingly grieved him. What then could he do better than to call for a *Minstrel* to moderate these different Passions, and by an expedient so agreeable

ble to the Soul, restore it to its proper and former calmness. And not only so, but being reduced to its Natural temper, it was then disposed for the reception of those Images which the Blessed Spirit was to make on his mind, the expressing or outward declaring of which is what we call *prophecy*.

Some such effect the *Musick* had on that Company of Prophets, 1 *Sam.* 10. 10. whose Spirits being by this means elevated; they did compose Hymns upon the place, by a Divine energy inwardly moving their minds. So that there were Holy raptures in some of 'em, which transported them beyond the ordinary Power of fancy or imagination, in dictating such Hymns as might be suitable for the design of celebrating the Name and Power of God. (c) And thus much the very Heathens attributed to the *Musick* of their Priests, whom they often look'd on as Men *inspired*, while they were performing this kind of Devotion to their Gods, which probably was by Satan, as many other things in the *Pagan* Worship, taken up, in imitation of these inspired Hymns, and *Musick* used by the Sons of the Prophets. 'Tis true, their Hymns were so composed, as to be fit rather to *transport* Men beyond the Power of their reason, than to *settle* and *sweeten* it. So their *Io Bacche* was full of noise and din; And the *Corybantes* are described like madmen, dancing about with their Cymbals and Drums——yet this *Enthusiasm* seem'd to have a Divine touch with it, and to come near to a *Prophetic* Spirit. However, it explains the Power of *Musick*, to frame this capacity of mind, either by raising the Spirits to an higher pitch than they ordinarily have, or making

(c) *Stillingfleet*, Orig. Sac. l. 2. c. 4. § 6.

'em fitter to receive those impressiōns, which some Spirit from without is ready to give 'em. And if it was not the Spirit of God, it was their unhappiness, as not knowing the true Religion. In a word, the *Soul* depending much on the temper of the *Body*, it must needs be, that according to the *right compofure* or *disorder* thereof, a Man is more or less disposed to and fit for Divine Offices; which the subtle adversary well knowing, that he may hinder us as much as he can from the due performance of our Duties in the Service of God, complies with all *Second Causes*, to discompose us by sundry Passions and Perturbations of Mind; and during these storms we cannot steadily discharge our parts. (d) Now solemn *Musick*, because of its Native affinity with the Soul, excellently accommodates it self, by calming and appeasing the tumults and tempests thereof with a pleasing allay, gently drawing it to a sweet Mediocrity, and sometimes carrying it above it self in an holy Rapture and Ecstasy, like St. *Paul* in the third Heaven, to the contemplation of unutterable things. How St. *Augustine* was touch'd with it, we have in his Confessions. *I have often wept at the Hymns of thy Church, and the affections of piety being thereby inflamed, my Tears ran down my Cheeks*—The cause of which he gives (and *Aquinas* out of him) from the correspondence and familiarity, there always is between *Musick* and the *Soul*, the affections of the latter, being more or less stirred up in Proportion to the variety and sweetness of the other. And immediately after, Anticipating the Objection some are apt to make from the *intelligibleness* of this Service, (e) *Though*, saith he,

(d) Dr. *Reading's* Sermon, on 1 King. 3. 15, 16. (e) *Etsi non intelligunt quæ cantantur, intelligunt tamen propter quid cantantur*——i. e. *laudem dei*. Conf. l. 10. c. 33.

some hearers should not understand those things which are sung, yet they do understand at least why they are sung, namely to the honour of God, and this is enough to stir up Devotion.

I omit the influence it has upon all Creatures in the World, of which the naturalists give us diverse instances, as of the *Bees* which come to it; of the *Arabian-Sheep* that grow fat by it, of the *Dolphins* that cannot resist its Charms, and are by that means taken. Nor do I insist on what *Macrobius* asserts, That it cures many diseases of the Body; and *Bede* particularizes, the pain of the Heart and the Head ach; *Athenaus* the Sciatica, and *Aulus Gellius* the Biting of Serpents. That lasting and formidable disease, occasion'd by the bite of the *Tarantula*, which often mocks all other remedies, is by nothing so successfully oppos'd as by *Musick*: (f) The use whereof is so great, that *Kircher* informs us that the *Apulian Magistrates* gave stipends at the publick charge to *Fiddlers*, to relieve the poor by their *Playing*. *Jamblichus* tells us, that a Young Man of *Taurominium* being got drunk, *Pythagoras* plaid him sober, by a few tunes of grave *Spondees*: Which is not incredible, because we know how *Musick* composes the distracted mind, and forms it to holy attention, as hath been seen in the sudden lucid intervals, and abundant Tears of madmen, hearkening a while to the Churches melodious Service.

It is reported of (g) *Aldelmus*, who first brought

(f) Vid. Boyle's usefulness of Nat. Philoso. p. 2. Essay 5. c. 25. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 4. c. 13. *Ferocientes animos molivit Pythagoras, seditiones accensas inhibuit Asclepiades, Damon ebrios ac petulantes juvenes ad modestiam reduxit, lymphaticos morbo liberavit Xenocrates* ——— *Hornius* supra. (g) Lord Clarendon's survey of the Leviathan, out of Harpsfield Eccl. Hist. of England.

in use the composition of Latin verse into *England*, that besides his Eminent *Piety* he had so great a faculty in *Singing*, that by the *Musick* of his Voice he wrought wonderful effects upon the barbarous and savage humour of the People, in so much as when they were in great multitudes engaged in a rude and licentious action, he would put himself in their way and sing, which made 'em all stand still to listen; and he so captivated them by the melody, that he diverted 'em from their purpose, and by degrees got so much credit with 'em, that he reduced 'em to more *Civility*, and instructed 'em in the Duties of *Religion*, into which though they had been baptized, they had made little enquiry. He lived a little before the time of *Edward the Confessor*, and the general testimony of the sanctity of his Life, and some miracles wrought by him (which it may be were principally the effects of his *Musick*,) being related and believed by *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was admitted for a *Saint*. But enough of this. All I intend, is to show the Power *Musick* has over the *Passions* of Men. And this I take to be the moral of those fabulous stories concerning *Terpander*, *Amphion*, *Orpheus*, *Arion*, &c. who are said to tame Wild Beasts, i. e. the unruly, brutish affections of humane Nature, which being overcome by the sweetness of their *Melody*, they were managed as those Masters pleased, who thereupon reduced 'em to *Civility and Good Manners*. Neither am I so much for all *Musick*, but that chiefly which answers the end we design by it, and which *Aristotle* calls *ἡθικὴν*; *Boethius*, *Lydiam*, and others strictly *ἁρμονίαν*, such as *Elisha* is supposed to use, when he invited the *Spirit of Prophecy*, and was plaid by *David* before *Saul*, to drive away the *Evil Spirit* which troubled him. And of which fort was the *Church Musick* of the Primitive Ages, fitted to
quiet

quiet the Passions and raise Devotion, that Men being taken by the *Ears* might be conducted at last to the Heavenly Chaire of Saints and Angels, and there enjoy God and Eternal Glory.

I hope it cannot be said, but that our *Musick* is *grave* and sober, (b) such as Queen *Elizabeth* who was no enemy to the *protestant Religion* appointed to be used. And therefore methinks, we should not be so forward to quarrel with a Church, whose meaning is *Delectare*, & *Prodesse*, as the Poet speaks; and gives us a convenient intermixture of *Pleasure* and *Profit*, which is, looked upon as the highest testimony of humane wisdom and good contrivance. Nay St. *Basil* places it higher (i) "For whereas the Holy Ghost saw, that "Mankind is hardly drawn to vertue; and that "Righteousness is less esteemed by reason of the "propteness of our affections to what is delightful, "it pleased the wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which mingled "with Heavenly mysteries causeth the Smoothness and softness of that which touches the Ear, "to convey, as it were, by stealth, the treasure of good things into mans mind. To this "end were those Harmonious tunes of *Psalms* devised for us, that they who are either young in "Years, or not grown ripe in the perfection of "vertue, might at the same time they think they "Sing, be also instructed. O the Wisdom of that "Heavenly teacher, who hath by his Skill, found "out a way, that doing those things, wherein "we take pleasure, we may also learn the things, "which are useful.

(b) Injunctions, anno 1559. N. 49. (i) In Psalm.

I have no inclination to make reflections; and therefore will not venture to say, (k) That *he who is not delighted with Musick, is not regularly made,* but is either Senseless, or has a very disorderly and unquiet Spirit. I say only this, that tho' we have indeed some little *Musick* in our Churches, yet the places are *very few*, in Comparison of those, which have nothing but *plain Singing*, when the Prayers are over, and so may be well left to such persons who find themselves edified by it, and rendred more Spiritual, Lively and Cheerfull during the holy action. If all are not of this mind, yet, as our Church speaks, let us all follow the rule of Charity, prescribed by the Apostle, (l) *That they who use this way of Worship despise not them who use it not, and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.*

B. Well, Sir, I am so far satisfied with what you have said, that I wish the *Lord's-day* was spent in no worse manner than you have described the Service of it. But alas we find it otherwise; And as there is a general neglect in doing the *duty* of the *day* among most People who yet bear a Christian name, so I think, in particular, none more faulty in this respect than those of the Church *Communion*, and great *abetters* of the *Liturgy*. Not that *Charity* will allow me to believe them naturally more irreligious than others, but this indifferency is much owing to the Doctrines of your *Church-Men*, who not only *tolerate* but vigorously *defend* almost all sorts of *recreations*, and thereby draw the minds of Men from that veneration which is due and ought to be given it. And truly the notion of *Holiday* now is, that it is a *day of idleness*

(k) *Harmonia qui non delectatus est non est harmonice compositus*. — Ficinus. (l) Canon...6. 1640.

and vanity; a day set apart either for a literal rest and doing nothing, or doing what ought not to be done, and which People have not leisure to do on any other. Great pains some *Bishops* and other *Doctors* have taken to justify a practice, which by all their industry and learning they should have put a Check to. But that which did the most mischief was the declaration of *Charles the first*. Wherein he Commands all the judges in their several circuits to see that no man trouble or molest any of his Loyal Subjects and dutiful people in or for their lawfull recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to him and his laws; and further, that publication thereof be made by order from the *Bishops* through all the parishes of their several *Dioceses* respectively ——— You find what followed. And God only knows how it is to be understood, and whether it was not one sign of the divine displeasure to let the People be permitted to take so much liberty against that excellent prince for giving them leave to do as they did on that Solemn day assigned to his worship.

'Tis true the Sabbath in strict translation is a day of rest: but then as (m) *Chrysostom* explains it, 'tis no otherwise so, than as it rids us of the care of temporal matters, that so there might be no avocations and interruptions to hinder us in our Spiritual — And to the same purpose (n) *Athanasius*, that the Sabbath no further signifies rest, than as thereby we are lead to the Knowledge of the Creator, which Knowledge is more necessary than our rest, neither are we to rest for any other end — And yet in good truth, to my thinking, bare rest would be much better than the other abuses of the day; and 'twere safer to erre in the defect of not honouring the Lord,

(m) *Homil de Lazaro.* (n) *De Sab. & Circum.*

which might be Charged on infirmity, than actively to dishonour him by forbidden *pleasures*, which is a piece of presumption and too plain an overt-act of inward *Atheism*, and tempts others to follow the example. If you say the express Words of the precept is, *Thou shalt do no manner of work*; — This puts me in mind of an Ancient-Law which prohibited *wooll* to be carried out of *Tarentum*; and to evade this law they carried the *sheep* but were punished as transgressors, because he that conveyed away the *sheep*, carried off the *wooll* by consequence; (o) And *that which is forbidden one way, we cannot come to it another*. Without doubt the design of the fourth Commandment in forbidding all sorts of Common work, was that thereby the People might have leisure and opportunity to do the work of the Sabbath, that is, to meditate on good things and mind the business of religion. Whatever therefore hinders this design is under the notion of *work*, tho' we give it another name: (p) And as for *recreations* which those *Apologists* seem so much for, they appear to me greater violations of the Divine Law than that which is named and forbidden, because *work* in itself is not only necessary for our present being, but some Kind of honour redounds to God by it in case we consider and declare ourselves the instruments of his providence in what we do for the support of ourselves and families. Whereas these Sports do not only alienate the mind from those Heavenly thoughts they should on this day be employ'd in, but they often prove sinful in the very act and the end is dismall.

(o) *Id quod non fieri potest directe, ex obliquo fieri non debet.* — Reg. Juris. (p) *Vid. Stillingfleet's Irenicura*
P. 1. Ch. 5. Sect. 4.

A. The doctrine of our Church is as sound for observing the *Lords-day* as you would have it. And as the *Laws* of our Nation punish offenders of this kind, so the *Ecclesiastical Decrees* and *Constitutions* ordain and teach that it ought to be solemnly kept by all her Children, as you have heard at large before. And as for particular Doctors, tho' of venerable Authority, yet their writings are no further accounted the doctrines of the Church than as they agree with those *Canons* and *Homilies* mention'd above. However as to those *Gentlemen* you point at, the *End* they propos'd in what they said on this Subject was to encounter *Judaism*; Not by any means to encourage *prophaneness*, but to stop *superstition*. The main thing they drove at was, to dispute the *morality* of the fourth Commandment with respect to that form of Words in which it is there set down, and to shew that tho' by the *Laws* of God and *Nature* a *Set time* was to be sequestred for the Divine Worship, yet the Determination of *that time*, and the Modes of that *worship* was left to the Church and the Wisdom of those under whose Government we live. This, I say, was what they chiefly intended; And then the consequence which they proceeded to was, that *recreations* on that day were no Sin, provided they were not instances of disobedience to our Superiors either with reference to *themselves*, as lawful, or *those hours* allotted for 'em. Some *diversions* are indeed *immoral* and vicious, and *these* ought not to be used on *any day*, much less on *Sunday*. Others have not *naturally* this contagion, yet may be *unlawful*, either because the *Magistrate* forbids 'em, or forbids 'em to be used at *this* or *that time*: and even *these* are *sinful*, because we disobey our *Governors* who require us to forbear 'em. But there are a *third sort* innocent in themselves, as *Walking in the fields* or discoursing with men of liberal Education and

legally inoffensive, as refreshing the body and leaving little impression on the mind, and such King James I. declares *dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting* and the like to be, and which those Authors, you mean, allow Youth, so far forth as they make 'em (q) *fitter for Gods service the rest of the day, and for the works of their vocation the rest of the week.* As for King Charles I. it appears plainly by the laws he made for keeping the *Lords-day*, that he had a very pious inclination to have it revered by all his People. But some *over-righteous* and nice *Ministers* both in the Church and State, *mistaking* the meaning of those *Laws*, and putting a greater restraint on People than was intended at first, He sets out that *Declaration*, you speak of, for the Ease of the Subject, to let him enjoy himself as far as Religion and the Statutes of the Kingdom permitted. And I question not, but as this *Declaration* was no more than a *Second Edition* of what his Father had issued out before, so probably the reason was the same, Not only to put a stop to *Judaism*, but to countermine *Po-pery* which on this occasion began to encrease because of the preciseness of some in power who, throughout several places of this Kingdom, hindring People from their innocent diversions on *Sunday*, the *Papists* among us were thereby made to think that our *Religion* was *Sovre* and fullen, and so not only refused to come over to us, but on the account of this rigour tempted others to renounce the *Reformation*. Which being noted by King James in his progress through *Lancashire* (a County abounding with those of the *Romish* persuasion) he sent out his *Declaration*, That his good People after the *Divine Service* should not be disturbed in their lawful recreations so as the same be had in due

(q) Doctor Saunderson's case of the Sabbath.

and convenient times without impediment or let of the
 Worship of God. These as far as I can remember,
 were the words of the Declarations, "At his
 "[King James] first entry to this Crown and
 "Kingdom He was informed, and that too truly,
 "that his County of *Lancaster* abounded more in
 "Popish recusants than any County of *England*,
 "and thus hath still continued since, to his great
 "regret, with little amendment, save that now
 "of late in his last riding throughout the said Coun-
 "ty, he hath found both by the report of his Judg-
 "es, and of the Bishop of the Diocess, that there
 "is some amendment now daily beginning, which
 "is no small contentment to his Majesty. The
 "report of this growing amendment among 'em
 "made his Majesty the more Sorry, when with
 "his own ears he heard the general complaint of
 "his people, That they were barred from all
 "Lawful recreations and exercise upon the Sun-
 "day afternoon after the ending of all Divine
 "Services, which cannot but produce Two evils,
 "The One hindring the conversion of many whom
 "their priests will take occasion hereby to vex,
 "perswading 'em that no honest mirth and recre-
 "ation is Lawful or tolerable in the Religion the
 "King professeth, and which cannot but breed great
 "discontentment in his peoples hearts, especially of
 "such as are peradventure on the point of turning---
 "The Kings expresse pleasure therefore is, that
 "no lawful recreations shall be barred to his good
 "People which shall not tend to the breach of the
 "Laws and Canons of the Church-----so as the
 "same be had in due and convenient time with-
 "out impediment or neglect of Divine service.
 "Dated at *Greenwich* May 24. in the 16. Year of his
 "reign. Now saith his Son King *Charles*, out of
 "a like pious care for the Service of God and for
 "the suppressing of any humors that oppose Truth,
 "and

“and for the ease, comfort and recreation of his
 “well-deserving People, his Majesty doth ratify
 “and publish this his Blessed Fathers Declaration,
 (r) *Octob. 18. 1633.* So that you see in this the
 reasons those *Princes* and *Divines* had to excuse
recreations on *Sunday* in the last age. It was to
 give a Check to the Errors of some Preachers and
 others then in being, whose doctrines had succeeded
 better had not this *toleration* stopt 'em. In disputes
 and controversies it is an easie thing to strain a lit-
 tle too far, in opposing an *Extreme* coming vio-
 lently on us; (s) yet the Supposition being true,
 that the natural justice of the Divine Law and
 the positive precepts of Governors, commanding
 no longer space of time for actual performance
 of religious offices upon the *Lords-day* than such as
 is both necessary for God's solemn Worship and
 for the spiritual Edification of Christian People,
 when that time is expired and the service over, if
 Men for the refreshment of their Spirits, betake
 themselves to those exercises as the Law either
 expressly or silently allows, *those writers* cannot be
 so much blamed to let us both see and enjoy our
 Liberty (especially as their case then was with
 respect to the obligation of the fourth Command-
 ment and *Sabbatarian Doctrine*) and if they pro-
 duced many Authorities ancient and modern to
 confirm the practice, it was not with design to in-
 troduce *one Error* by baffling *another*, but to state
 rightly and make good the question then no foot,
 and to demonstrate that the Law of the two
 Tables was sufficiently observed, as long as no-
 thing was done to injure it in its *Equity*. How.

(r) *Rushworths Collections.* (s) *Bishop of Ely on the Sab-
 bath.*

ever the Case is now altered; And as the *Constitutions* of this Church and the *Laws* of the Nation are very strict for the honour of God (and if not executed by those to whose care they are intrusted, they must not bear the blame:) So neither *press* nor *pulpit* afford us any thing but what corresponds with 'em. And our *Ministers* both in their *Writings* and *Sermons* are so tender in the [*casus reservati* or] *reserved cases* of necessity and charity, (which as *Tertullian* saith are rather the Works of God than *Man*) and so wary in explaining the *exceptions*, for fear they should be strained too far by People who are willing to indulge themselves, and comprehend almost every thing with the Romanists in *ordine ad spiritualia*, that surely they cannot be suspected to give 'em any encouragement for the neglect of this *day*, which in my hearing they have often threatned with the Vengeance and wrath of God.

B. I must confess I have heard many zealous discourses on that subject, and it has exceedingly pleas'd me to find our Teachers so warm in their Masters cause. Particularly the last *Lords-day*, after our *Pastor* had explained the *notion* of the Christian Sabbath (which has occasion'd this trouble I have all this *week* put you to) he came at length to the *applications*, which were so pious and affectionate, that they easily made their way into my heart, and I hope, through Gods mercy, I shall never forget 'em. The drift of his words was *satyrical* enough and full of censure on our omissions this way; but his Language was *kind*, *sweet* and *mannerly*, and his reproof was clothed in such *passionate expostulations*, as at once both *chid* and *pleas'd* his Auditory. He demanded in the name of God, why they would be so ungrateful to the divine Bounty, who had reserved to himself, rigorously

gorously speaking, but the (t) *seventh* part of time, when he might have justly claimed the *Whole*, or that proportion at least which he had given them for the concerns of this Life. He ask'd 'em, how they could carry themselves with so much imprudence, as to let so strong an Evidence of an ill Principle escape 'em, of being so lavish of what was not *their own*, and thereby convince the World, that surely such Men must needs have very little *honesty* and *justice* (and consequently small confidence or trust to be put in 'em) who in this remarkable manner robbed God of his due, a God so *liberal*, so *good*, and withal so *wise*, that he cannot be overreached by any of our pretences and so *powerful*, that his displeasure must needs be terrible. He desired to know, why of all the Days of the Week, *this* was pitch'd upon to begin a *journey*, and (as some prophanely abuse the Devotion of the Church) give this reason, because on the *Lord's-day* they should in all likelihood have better success, and more safety on the account of those Prayers, which the Congregation are then obliged to offer to God in behalf of them, *who travel by Land or by Water*, whereas the intercession means only *such* Persons who do it by *necessity* and constraint, which cannot be their *Plea*, who without this warrant act presumptuously and travel on this day otherwise, as they think, lost to 'em. He required a reason why this Day was set apart for the taking of *Physick*, which as it is mostly in its own Nature a *qualified poyson*, so it must prove Poison to the Body without God's Blessing, and they took an odd way to invite him to bestow it. He admired how they could so far mistake the notion of the Day, as to

(t) Si voluisset deus absolute uti dominio suo, potuit plures dies imperari cultui suo impendendos——Rivet Exod.

sleep out so much and *idle away* the remainder of it, as if they were not to be distinguish'd from the common *Beasts* which do *rest* that Day, partly to recover their strength for the following *six*, but chiefly that their owners might have leisure to serve their great Creator. But his Blood rose at the naming of them who *prophaned the day*, with those *Vices* and *excesses* which became *no Day* and no Christian, such as *drunkenness*, *revelling* and the like. And when he had gone thro' these and some other Particulars, he put us the Question how we would relish this behaviour from one of our own Servants, when we had furnish'd him with sufficient liberty and plenty, on condition that within the compass of so much time, he should take care to separate a very small proportion to do us Service in, yet not only neglects the prescribed Service, but every way defies and disgraces us. I need not tell you, saith he, that we would take it very ill; and therefore let me beseech you to bring it home to yourselves, and consider your Lord and Maker. The case is not indeed *Parallel*, goes he on, for what comparison is there between *God* and *Man*? Yet thus we deal with God, though a Servant must not so deal with his *Master* or *Mistress*. After this turning his discourse from such People who grossly *abused* the Day, to those who make a shew of *keeping* it, he again expostulated, Whether their attendance at the publick Worship was out of serious intent to serve and honour God, or out of temporal and carnal ends? Did they not come rather to *see* and be *seen*, and use the Church as an opportunity either to show their own Pride, or to discover how others express it. Was it not to hear *News*; to please curiosity; to meet Friends and in order perhaps to transact some Worldly business? Was *Religion* any more than a *Collateral*, or *Secondary* motive for what they did, a reason to be given by the *Mouth*,
but

but was the *Heart* interested in it? The humour of rambling abroad to *other Churches*, said he, and the partial coming to our *Own*, upon the rumour of *this* or *that* Man's Preaching, are too visibly overtacts of our mind in this matter, and declare loudly enough that we have only the *form of Godliness* and not the *Power*; or say rather, neither the *appearance* nor *reallity* of it. In fine, he shew'd all parties the danger of abusing the *Lord's-day*, and then concluded with an affectionate exhortation, back'd with a short Prayer to God for his Grace to enable us all to spend it better for the future.

A. I am glad you have so ready a proof of what I have been proposing. The account you give of it invites me to present you with the sight of an *Office*, or a *Collection of Prayers* and directions made by a Friend of mine, calculated for the *Lord's-day*, and whereby we may be said to spend the day well, if we piously and carefully use it. I will only read to you the *Rubricks* or *Heads* of it, which if you like I will lend it you home for some time to peruse and consider the *Body* of it.

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The OFFICE.

At Waking, he saith,

Lighten mine Eyes, O Lord, that I sleep not in Death, O Blessed Saviour, who hast taught me that the Dead shall hear thy Voice, let me no longer lie in the Grave of sloth, but raise me as thou didst thy Servant *Lazarus*: Unbind my Hands and Feet; Set me in some good way, that I may glorifie thee, by serving thee this Day with a pure Mind and Humble Heart. Lord, as thou hast awaked my Body from sleep, so by thy Grace awaken my Soul from Sin; and make me so to Walk before thee this Day, and all the rest of my Life, that when the last Trumpet shall awake me out of my Grave, I may rise to the Life Immortal, through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

At Rising.

IN the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I laid me down and slept, and now I rise again, the Lord sustaining me. Blessed be his Name, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

When Rising.

O Lord, by thy Mercy I am risen out of my

Bed, where I might have slept in Death, but that Thou preserved'st me. Make it I beseech Thee a Resurrection to Grace in this Life, and to Glory in the Life to come, through Jesus Christ who Merited both for us. *Amen.*

At putting on Apparel.

Cloth me, O Lord, with the Ornaments of Thy Heavenly Grace, and cover me with the Robes of Righteousness, through Jesus Christ.

O my God, as I came into the World a Weak, Naked and Wretched Creature, so I continue still, if destitute of Thy Grace. Reach out therefore unto me the unspotted Robe of Thy Son's Righteousness; and so Cloath me with all the Graces of Thy Holy Spirit, that Thy Image may be daily renew'd, and Thy Name honoured by me for evermore. *Amen.*

At Washing.

O My dear Saviour, who hast opened a Fountain for Sin and for Uncleanness: Wash me thoroughly with those saving Waters, that being purified from the stains of Sin, and the guilt of my Natural corruption

corruption, I may with the more confidence draw near to thy Throne of Grace, and bow my self before thy Mercy seat.

O wash me thoroughly from my wickedness and cleanse me from my Sin: Make me a clean Heart and renew a right Spirit within me; a Spirit of cleaving stedfastly unto thee through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

In his Closet.

O Most gracious God, whose Eyes have been open over me when mine were shut, and under the shadow of whose Wings I have past this Night in safety; I do with all possible thankfulness humbly acknowledge it, as thy great Mercy that thou hast not taken away my Soul this Night, as in Justice thou might'st have done, but hast given me respite and afforded me one Day more to call upon thy Name.

O Lord, make me ashamed of my former unthankfulness, and wound my Heart with the consideration of my own dullness, whom so many favours have not wrought to more obedience: Give me Grace to consecrate this Day, and the rest of my Life, unto thy service, and to Redeem the time at least which I cannot recal.

And O thou, who turnest the shadow of Death into the Light of the Morning, inable me Powerfully to cast off all the Works of darkness, and to keep my Soul spotless and unblameable.

And as thou hast brought me to the comforts of this Day: So go along with me I beseech thee, through all the parts and minutes of my Life, that in all my ways being guided by thy Counsel here, I may hereafter be received into thy Glory, even for the Merits of my dearest Saviour Jesus Christ.

This Day by the Resurrection of thy Son my Redeemer, was made holy to us: Give me thy Grace, that I may keep it holy to thee, through Jesus Christ. And O gracious Jesu, since on this Day more especially, I am to humble my self at thy Feet, and to beg Mercy for my Soul, which ought to be dearer to me than a thousand Worlds. Be pleased not to suffer any Worldly Cares to divert or hinder me; Root out this Bed of Thorns, and Sow holy Thoughts instead of them. Let me not be like *Martha* troubled, about many things but fix me on the one thing needful, that so having chosen the better part, it may never be taken from me. Counsel me, govern me, lead me in the way I should go, or else I shall wander from thee into Infinite Errors!

O possess then all my bodily Senses, that my Sinful affections may find no place. Leave me no more to my own weakness whereof my frequent falls have given me many and sad Experiments.

Restrain

Restrain those inclinations to which my Nature is chiefly prone, that their violence may never have Power over me to make me swerve from thy holy will

Let not the corruption of these evil times prevail upon me, but keep me from the Flattering and lying Lips, the Prophane and Blaspheming Tongue; stop my Ears and shut up my Heart against them.

Strike such an awful reverence into my Soul, that I may Watch over all my actions, and carefully avoid what ever may be dangerous to my self, pernicious to others, or any way displeasing unto thee, that so living in thy fear I may die in thy favour, rest in thy peace, and reign with thee in thy Glory, world without end.

Or thus.

O Almighty and most Blessed God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, who makest the out-goings both of Morning and Evening; By whose alone bounty it is, that I have this Day added to my Life, and by whose good hand upon me thy Creature, I am awaked out of my last Nights sleep, and being risen present my self before thee: I humbly bow to thee my knees, and therewith my Heart and Soul, and desire with all that is within me to adore thy Blessed Majesty.

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But most unworthy, and of my self most insufficient, am I to perform unto thee any Worship or Service. What is dust and ashes (and such am I if I were innocent) to take upon me to speak unto the Lord? But, O God, I am a guilty Wretch, one whom it becometh to stand afar off, and shame covering my Face, to cry unclean, unclean. My Soul is naturally over-run with Lusts, as with an Universal Leprosie: There is no sound part in me. My Life is as corrupt as my Heart. My Childhood and Youth have not only been vanity, but Sin. I have done nothing else therein, but fulfill'd the desires of my Flesh and Mind. My corruptions have only grown with me: And my Sins since become so much the more Sinful, by how much the more knowledge I have had of thy Will, and Strength and Engagements to have performed it.

To this very Day, as indeed I ever have done, I daily break thy holy Laws in Thought, Word and Actions, by choosing what thou hast forbidden, and neglecting what thou hast Commanded. In all my ways I most miserably Transgress. My very sleep it self, O Lord, is not innocent. Nor is it thus only in the common, and more ordinary Actions of my Life. Those few good Deeds, which I do, have many, not only Infirmities, but Sins in them. And I have need to repent of my very Righteousness.

Yet,

Yet, O Father of Mercies, thou art still kind to the unthankful and the evil. I acknowledge my self to have abundantly Experimented that gracious property of thine.

For notwithstanding my daily provocations against thee, thou still heapest Mercy and Loving kindness upon me. All my contempts and despising of thy Spiritual favours, have not yet made thee withdraw them, but in the riches of thy goodness, and Long-suffering thou still continuest to me, the offers of Grace and Life in thy Son.

And all my abuses of thy temporal Blessings thou hast not punished with an utter deprivation of them, but art still pleased to afford me a liberal portion of them. My Sins yesterday thou hast not repaid as, justly thou mightest, by sweeping me away with a swift destruction, and taking my Soul this Night from me, but hast spared and preserv'd me according to the greatness of thy Mercy.

What reward shall I give unto thee, O Lord, for all these thy benefits? What, O my God, am I able to offer thee? Yet let me say, Blessed be thy holy Name for ever. Let Heaven and Earth praise thee for all thy unspeakable Mercies. And be thou pleased to accept of that Praise, which thy Poor Servant, hereby returns thee (as well as he can for them all; and particularly for this last Nights refreshings,

together with the comfortable restoring him to the injoyment of Day) grant me thy special Grace, that I may spend my time to thy Glory, and may be all this Day long in thy fear. Keep me that I fall into no Sin nor run into any danger. And accept thou this my Morning Service, together with me, who here devote my self to thee, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, in whose name I further pray, as by him taught, when I pray, to say,

Our Father, &c.
Amen.

Then calling his Family together, he reads the Litany which he looks on, in it self a compleat piece of Devotion, inserting the Collect for the Day with the other two for peace and grace, which being over, he returns to his Closet, and bestowing some time in reading and meditation, he concludes with this Prayer.

O Lord, from whom the Preparations of the Heart are: The hour now draws near, which being holy unto thee, I am to spend in thy more solemn Worship. Let the effusions of thy Grace, both upon me and all the Congregation of thy People be very plentiful. Let my Heart be fixed, and none either vain or Worldly Thoughts lodge within

within me. Quicken me with thy holy Spirit that I may draw near unto thee with a true Heart, and be fervent in Spirit in thy Service; and with a good and honest heart receiving thy Word, may understand and keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience, and unto perfection. Remember thy Servants who are to dispence thy mysteries unto thy People: And especially him upon whose teaching I am to wait. Pardon his frailties, open his Mouth, guide his Mind and Tongue, that he may deliver thy truths in the Demonstrations of thy Spirit: And let thy Work so prosper in his hand, that both he himself and we his hearers may be built up in our most holy faith to the perfecting of thy Church, and the Eternal Glory of thy Name thereby, through our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus. Amen.

Going to the Church, he hath this short Ejaculation.

Lord I love the Habitation of thy House, and the Place where thine Honour Dwelleth——

Entring the Door, he saith.

HOW dreadful is this Place? This is none other than the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven.

Getting to the Pew, he kneels and saith.

O Lord I am come into thine House, even on

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the multitude of thy Mercies; and in thy fear will I Worship thee; O Bless me that I may; And grant that my attendance here may be for thy honour, and my own Salvation, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Before the service begins; while the Congregation is getting together, he either impleies himself in reading some portion of the Bible, or in these Prayers.

O Lord God, I am come hither to Worship, to pray to thee. Stir up my Memory, to remember that Thou art present: Fix my intentions upon thee, upon thee alone: Awaken my understanding, to consider what I am about, and who I am to speak to; But above all inflame my affections, that my Heart being set on Fire with thy Love, my Prayers may participate of that fervency, and be accepted of thee for his sake, who came to send this Fire on the Earth, even Jesus Christ my Saviour.

O gracious Father, what thanks, what praise can I offer to thee for raising me to this honour, of entring into thy presence as a Son, and conversing with thee on the Earth, with the same freedom, as the Angels do in Heaven. O grant me thy Grace, so to make advantage of this Divine privilege, that my Sins may never make me forfeit it, but rather

ther by a devout and humble use of it, acquire to my self daily new degrees of thy favour, till thou hast brought me, thy unworthy Son to that incorruptible Inheritance, which can have neither increase nor end.

I confess, O Lord, it is an excess of boldness in me, that I so poor a Worm, so vile, so contemptible a Creature should presume to speak to thee: Yet be not angry with me for this; For it is not because I value my self more than *Abraham* did, (for if he were dust and ashes, what am I?) But because I dare not undervalue thy Mercy, that I make my humble approaches to thee; Behold I am nothing in my own Eyes, O let me be something in thine: And disdain me not when I speak unto thee for Christ his sake.

But O most great God, what shall I say in thy presence, when I pray to thee? By what title shall I call thee? Or how shall I sufficiently adore thee? If I stile thee a Judge, I adore thy Justice: If a Master I know my obedience: If I call thee my Saviour I acknowledge thy Mercy; whatsoever Name I use, I find cause enough of reverence. And since therefore now I appear before thee, to pay the tribute of Adoration, by a thousand titles due to thee, let thy truth direct me, and thy Spirit guide me, that I may so adore thee in Spirit and in truth, as thou requirest: And that all the inward facul-

ties of my Soul, may be so many fiery Tongues to set forth thy praise for evermore.

Most mighty God, who hast not only permitted, but invited us needy and miserable Creatures, to present our Pitions to thee: Oh! Let me set a true value on this most inestimable Privilege. I come unto thee, O Lord, as a worm to my Sovereign Maker; I come as an heinous Offender to a just and severe Judge: Let I pray thee my Addresses in thy House be with a reverence, some way answerable to thine awful Majesty; Give me an hearty desire to pray, and such a pure intention and fixedness of mind upon thee, that I may no more incurr the guilt of drawing nigh unto thee, with my Lips when my Heart is far from thee. But may so ask that I may receive, so seek that I may find, so knock that it may be opened unto me; That so from praying to thee here, I may be translated to the praising thee Eternally in thy Glory hereafter, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O Lord, who though thou Dwellest not in Temples made with hands, yet hast promised to meet and Bless thy People, where-ever thou hast recorded thy Name; be pleased to be graciously present to me thy Servant, and to the Congregation, which shall here assemble themselves this Day for thy Worship. Pardon every one, who hath not prepared himself

himself according to the Preparation of the Sanctuary. Quicken us all for thy Name sake. Teach us to do thy Will, and build us up in our most holy Faith, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

I am come, O Lord, into thy presence upon Work, which no one hath more need to do than my self. To consider my ways, and repent of my Sins and turn to thee. But I have an hard Heart, not apt to relent; and dry Eyes, such at least which seldom shed Tears for my Sins; O that thou would'st bow thy Heavens and come down, and melt my Soul in such Godly sorrow which might Work repentance, not to be repented of. Open my Eyes and help me to see into my Heart. Bring my Sins to remembrance and set them in order before me, that an holy shame and confusion may cover my face for them, and beholding my contrition may'st accept it, and both pardon me and assist me hereafter by thy Grace, that I may live more Godlily, righteously and soberly, in this present World, and attain unto Blessedness, with thy self, in the World to come, through the Merits of Christ Jesus, my Lord and Saviour.

O my dear and Blessed Saviour, who with so much zeal didst drive out those who turned thy House of Prayer into a den of Thieves, clear at this time the Temple of my Soul, from vain and Sinful

Thoughts, cast out all wandering imaginations, leave nothing behind that may either disturb or distract me in the performance of this my duty, that my Prayers may ascend as the incense; And thy Grace, and Mercy may descend as dew to the saving of my Soul, and to the Glory of thy Name.

Amen.

Service being begun, he leaves off his private Devotions, and joins with the Congregation, and as soon as the Minister Names the Lessons, or the Epistles and Gospels; He turns immediately to the places, and saith, as he always doth at home, when ever he applies himself to the Scripture.

Open thou mine Eyes, O Lord, that I may see the wondrous things of thy Law.

O Lord give me a right understanding and an Heart to practise what I shall now read in this thy holy Book.

The Sermon being ended, if not prevented, by the Preacher, he saith,

Grant I beseech, Almighty God, that the words which we have heard at this time with our outward Ears, may through thy Grace be so grafted inwardly in all our Hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise

praise of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*If it be a Sacrament day,
before he comes to Church
to his other Devotions
he adds this Prayer.*

O Father of Mercies, who from the beginning hast been in Christ, reconciling the World to thy self, and to insure as well as compleat this reconciliation, hast called the Faithful to the Communion of the Body and Blood of thy Son, that true Passover who tasted Death for every Man. With what holy hands, and pure and Heavenly heart, ought I to receive this food of Life which comes down from Heaven? Yet, Lord, how vile and polluted am I? My very preparations need Repentance, and my Tears sorrow. And besides the insufficiency of my Repentance, which I beseech thee in the Blood of Jesus to Pardon, I have other miserable defects and distempers, which, Lord, if thou wilt not remove, I am like to bring with me to thy Table. An exceeding dull Heart I carry very far from being unbroken for my Sins, unaffected too with that Zeal of Love, and thankfulness towards thee, of Charity and good will towards Mankind, which I ought to bring thither with me. That trust and dependance which I exercise on thy Mercy in Christ, I have reason to fear may be too Presumptuous. But, Lord, thou knowest I have endeavoured to mourn

over and repent of my Sins: I have vowed to have respect to all thy Commandments, and not to regard any iniquity in my Heart. These my vows of Holy Life, I have ready to seal at thy Table. O that thou by the Blood and Spirit of thy Son would'st seal me to the Day of Redemption, pardoning all my past Sins, and by the Power of thy Grace preserving me from future backslidings. Make this Blessed Sacrament a Feast of fat things unto my Soul. Vouchsafe me thereby larger communications of Grace and Comfort, than ever yet I received. And to that end at present thoroughly wash me from the guilt of all my Sins in the Blood of my Saviour; from the guilt of all I know and have confest, and from the guilt of all my secret and unknown transgressions.

O Lord, if there be any unseen iniquity of mine, which is like to interpose and hinder good things from me, reveal and discover that to thy Servant, that by serious repentance thereof, he may obtain the washing of it away, and may draw near with a true Heart sprinkled from an evil Conscience. And Lord let thy Spirit go along with me, empowering me from above, and at those instants when I shall receive that Bread of Life, and Drink of that Cup of the New Testament in my Saviour's Blood, let my Heart so relent for all my Sins, be so inflamed
with

with fervour of Holy resolutions of Faith, Love, Gratitude and most Christian Charity, that I may in nothing behave my self unworthily : Hear, O Lord, and remember thy Servant for good, through that Blood which he longs to be sprinkled and satisfied with.
Amen.

In the Church immediately after Sermon, while the non-Communicants are going out, he kneels in his Pew, and saith,

Almighty Lord, who halt of thine Infinite Mercies vouchsafed to ordain the Sacrament for a perpetual Memory of that Blessed Sacrifice which once thou mad'st for us on the Cross; Grant me with such diligent remembrance, and such due reverence to Participate of that holy and wonderful Myſtery, that I may be made worthy by thy Grace to obtain the vertue and fruits of the same, with all the benefits of thy precious Death and Paſſion, even the remiſſion of all my Sins, and the fullneſs of all thy Graces, which I beg for thy only Merits, who art my only Saviour, God from Everlaſting and World without end.
Amen.

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, Almighty and Everlaſting God, regard we beſeech thee the Devotions of thy humble Servants, who are juſt going to thine Altar, to celebrate the Memorial which

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thy Son our Saviour hath Com-manded, to be made in remembrance of his moſt Bleſſed Paſſion and Sacrifice; that by the Merits and Power thereof, there to be now re-preſented before thy Divine Maſteſty, we and all thy whole Church may be made partakers of all other the be-nefits of his moſt precious Death and Paſſion, together with his mighty Reſurreſtion from the Earth, and glorious Aſcenſion into Heaven, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the holy Spirit, ever one God World without end.
Amen.

The hurry being over, and the way made clear, he haſtens to the rail before the Table, and kneeling down, ſaith,

O Moſt Bleſſed Saviour, who in the Bowels of thy Mercy towards Mankind, didſt not only offer thy ſelf a Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, but didſt inſtitute this Heavenly and holy Sacrament, as the means to convey the benefits of thy precious Death to all ſuch as with humility and repentance come unto thee. I beſeech thee to accept this my humble addreſs who here preſent my ſelf a woful Sinner, I confeſs, but ſuch a one, who am heartily ſorry for my Sins, and penitent for my Offences.

Direct me therefore, O my God, in this great action, with ſuch a reverent and awe-ful

ful

ful fear, that all the faculties of my Soul may be attentive rightly to apprehend, and joyfully to receive this wonderful Mystery of thy Body and Blood.

O my Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; let thy holy Spirit therefore before thy coming, prepare and dress up a Lodging for thee in my Soul, cleansing it from the Stains of Sin, and suffering nothing to abide in it that may keep thee out; so that being wholly possess'd by thee, all Sinful Thoughts and unclean Suggestions, may not only presently vanish, but never find entrance more.

Grant this, O my Jesu, and so this Day, receive me into thy favour, that I may with joy receive thee into my Soul, and being once united with thee, thy Grace may never depart from me; that so thou maist live in me, and I in thee for ever. *Amen.*

At the Offertory, while the Minister reads the Sentences, and the Church-Wardens gather the Alms for the Poor, he saith,

O Lord, whose is the Earth, and the fullness thereof, I am willing to offer unto thee, out of what by thy gift and Blessing I have, some small testimony of my thankfulness, and duty to be bestowed upon those wanting ones, whom thy Providence

has made the objects of our Charity; Be thou pleased through the Blood of my Saviour to accept it and pardon all my vain expences.

And actually Offering, he silently saith,

Blessed Jesu who didst accept the Poor Widows two Mites; Be graciously pleased to accept this from thy unworthy Servant. *Amen.*

At the Consecration of the Elements he narrowly observes every Passage and Ceremony as having all of them their signification and use.

And therefore when he sees the Minister breaking the Bread, he remembers how Christ's Body was torn with Nails on the Cross, when he sees the Wine poured out, he calls to mind the spilling of his Blood, and then considers withal, that his Sins contribute to both. So that he finds by experience that the sight of these things worketh in him a great sorrow, for those Sins, which caused 'em, and that sorrow begets an hatred and a firm resolution against 'em for the future; and withal engages him to thankfulness and Love, and persuades him to express it by an universal Obedience in his Conversation.

He observes the People too, with what zeal and earnestness

ness they take, and eat the Bread and take and drink the Wine. This to him signifies their particular laying hold on Christ by Trust and Faith; Their flying to and apprehending him as the means of their Salvation, and the pardon of their Sins tendered to them in this Blessed Sacrament, which ends in an holy Meditation.

Then he saith,

O Lamb of God that takest away the Sins of the World, grant me thy Peace.

O Lamb of God that takest away the Sins of the World, have Mercy upon me.

Grant me, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy Son and drink his Blood, that my Sinful Body may be made clean by his Body, and my Soul washed, through his most precious Blood. *Amen.*

O Lord God, how I receive the Body and Blood of my most Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, the price of my Redemption, is the very wonder of my Soul; yet I firmly believe upon the words of my Saviour, that at this time they are graciously tendered to me; I am sure it is so, though I dispute not the manner: Lord make me a worthy receiver and partaker of all the benefits of this Blessed Sacrament. *Amen.*

Thou hast said, O my Jesus, that he that eateth thy flesh and drinketh thy Blood, hath Eternal Life.

Behold the Servant of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word.

At eating the Bread, he saith,

BY thy crucified Body, O Jesus, deliver me from this Body of Death.

Then he adds,

I Bless thee, O Father, for my Saviour and Lord, the Holy Jesus. I adore thee O Lord Christ, with thy Eternal Spirit. I acknowledge and believe thy Body to have been Crucified, and broken by thy Father's Wrath for me; I beseech thee, that through the same, this Body of mine may be sealed to an Holy and Eternal Life; And withal I devote my self to thee, by solemn vow, which by eating here at thy Table, I seal with all my Soul and strength to serve thee all my Days. Let thy Grace, O Lord, be sufficient for me.

At receiving the Cup, he saith,

BY thy Agony and Bloody Sweat, good Lord deliver me; O Let this Blood purge my Conscience from dead

dead Work, to serve thee the living God.

Then Subjoins,

I Bless thee, O Almighty Father, O Crucified Saviour, O Sanctifying Spirit, that my Soul is thus refreshed I acknowledge and believe thy Blood, O holy Jesus, to have been shed for my Sins; let it rest on me for Remission of them, and therein let all my Sins be washed away, and I sprinkled from all evil Conscience. Being now made clean, oh that I may Sin no more!

Most Blessed Redeemer, I do truly believe that thy Body was Crucified, and thy Blood was shed out of thy Body, as verily as I have received this Bread, and this Wine set apart from the Bread. And that for the Remission of my Sins as well as any others: And I do believe also, that with this Bread and Wine I have really and Spiritually received thy precious Body and Blood, whereby my Sins are fully washed away, and my Soul purified and refreshed. This, O Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief! *Amen.*

Lord, I have received the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of my dear Saviour. His Mercy hath given it me, and my Faith received it into my Soul. I humbly beseech thee speak Mercy and Peace unto my Conscience, and enrich me with all thy Graces

which come from that precious Body and Blood, even till I be possessed of Eternal Life in Christ. *Amen.*

Then giving way for others to come to the Rail, he retires to his Pew, and kneeling saith,

A Almighty God, the Fountain of all goodness, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh, and to whom all Glory, and Honour should be returned, I do desire most heartily to thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feed me, with the Spiritual Food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure me thereby of thy favour and goodness towards me, and that I am a very Member incorporate in the Mystical Body of thy Son which is the Blessed Company of all Faithful People; and am also an Heir through hope of thine Everlasting Kingdom, by the Merits of the most precious Death and Passion of thy dear Son, oh the height and depth of that unspeakable Mercy of thine, who art pleased to admit me a Sinful Wretch to have any part in those inestimable benefits, which I have so often despised and trampled under Foot. I am not worthy, O Lord, of that Daily Bread which sustains the Body; but thou hast made me partaker of that living Bread, which came down from

from Heaven, which nourisheth the Soul, and of which whosoever eateth, shall live for ever: O grant that my Soul may relish this Divine Food with Spiritual Ravishment and Love, great as the flame of Cherubims; and grant, that what thou hast given me for the Remission of my Sins, may not by any fault become the increase of 'em, that this holy Communion prove not to me the cause of Judgment and Condemnation, but may support and preserve me in every Temptation; rejoyce and quiet me in every trouble, enlighten and strengthen me in every good Word and Work; comfort and defend me in the hour of my death, against all oppositions of the Spirits of Darknes, and further me in the attainment of everlasting Salvation through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

O Lord, the only Spring and Fountain of all good, who hast this Day revived and quickened my poor Soul, by giving thy Self unto me after a wonderful way in this Blessed Sacrament: I praise and glorifie thy Holy Name for this thine infinite Mercy; beseeching thee to Crown what I have begun by a continual supply of thy Heavenly Grace, that I may never forget whom, or what I have received; but being purified by thy Blood, and strengthened by thy Body against all future Temptations, I may constantly run through all the parts of

an Holy Life to the possession of thy glorious Kingdom, world without end. *Amen.*

Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory, and Blessing: Therefore Blessing and Honour, and Glory and Power, be to him that sitteth on the Throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

The remainder of the time, whilst the Minister is giving the Sacrament to the rest of the Company, he spends in saying the 103 Psalm, and reading some other parts of Scripture, or Book of Devotions, with Directions to an Holy Life, which he usually carries in his Pocket, and at last the Blessing being given, he saith,

O Lord, pardon the wanderings and coldness of my Affections and Heart in this thy Service; and deal with me not according to my Prayers and Deserts, but according to my Needs and thine own rich Mercies in Christ Jesus, in whose blessed Name and Words I conclude these my imperfect Devotions and Prayers, saying,

Our Father, &c.

For thine is, &c. Amen.

Being

Being returned home, he retires for a while into his Closet, and meditating sometime on what he had heard, received and done in the Church, he kneels and saith,

I Bless thee, O Lord, my God, for the Comforts of thy House, from whence I now came; for thy awakening me to my Duty, for any softnings of my Heart, and sense of thy Love or hopes of enjoying thee hereafter: Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, who am a vain hard-hearted, sinful wretch of my self, but to thy Holy Name be the Praise. Now increase, I beseech thee, this thy goodness to me, and confirm me in thy Grace evermore: Let me grow in the knowledge, fear and love of thee; and any impressions thereof, which I have this day receiv'd, suffer me not, to lose; but inable me to bring forth Fruit unto Perfection, to the Glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ, my blessed Lord and Mediator. *Amen.*

My Soul and all within me, blest thee, O Lord my God, for that Bread of Life, and Cup of Salvation, from which I now come. What am I, that thou shouldest feed me from Heaven, and assume me into so intimate an Union with thine Eternal Son? I, who have transgressed all thy Laws, abused thy Mercies, slighted

thy Judgments; I who have refused thy Calls, resisted thy Spirits; broken all my former Covenants with thee: What am I, that thou shouldest thus re-admit me into so high a favour? It is, O Lord, because thy Mercy is above all thy Works, and the riches of thy Grace most inexhaustible, that Mercy and Grace I adore, I admire; Oh, that I may eternally magnifie! Nothing is there, Lord, in me, but what may provoke thy Wrath and hinder my Happiness. How gross were my unpreparednesses for thy Table? How many the wanderings, and how great the dulnesses of my Heart, even under my nearest approaches to thee there! These may justly cause thee to hide thy Face from me. And I cannot but bless thee, that thou hast not more estranged thy self, and instead of hopes of thy favour, sent me home with a sense of thy Wrath: But, Lord, though I am not worthy of those Joys and Comforts of that hidden Manna, which thy choice and holier Servants taste, yet vouchsafe me this Benefit by the Communion of the Body and Blood of thy Son, that I may receive such Grace and perpetual influences of thy Spirit, as may enable me to perform unto thee all my Vows; so that I never, by revolting into any known Sin, unhallow this Soul and Body of mine, which the Body and Blood of thy Son hath this Day Sanctified;

fied; but denying ungodliness and worldly Lusts, may live soberly, righteously, and godlily in this present World, and in that to come, obtain a blessed Resurrection, and some (though any means) share of an Inheritance with thy Saints in Light, through the Merits of my Crucified Saviour. Amen.

Then he goes to Dinner, and craves a Blessing on what he and his Family are going to eat: And according as the Company is, he has his [Mensarios Sermones] Table Talk on the Subject of the Sermon, or what the matter of the Meal may occasion tending to the Glory of the Creator.

Grace ended, he either pursues his Discourse as the Company invites him to it, or else composes himself

that the Meal being digested, he may be the more capable to discharge his Duty at the Evening-Service. The Bell Summoning him to Church, he goes and saith as in the Morning all the Prayers that are proper.

After Evening-Service returning home, he withdraws into the Closet for some time, to recollect what had been told him from the Pulpit, and giving God thanks as before at Noon.

Then calling the Family together, according to the advice of St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, and Origen, he makes them repeat what they can of the Sermon, helps their Memories and takes care to apply it, as they are able, and as he finds occasion.

THIS being over, he proceeds to Practice; and his Piety being hitherto shown to God, he thinks it a Duty of near Kin to express Charity to his Neighbour; and this he doth two ways, either by Visiting the Sick, or by relieving the Poor. And if the same Party should happen (as it often falls out) to be both Sick and in necessity, then he concludes that such a ones Condition calls to him aloud for double Compassion and Care. If visited only with Sicknes, then he thinks it expedient and seasonable to represent to him the gracious Design of God in sending this Affliction, which probably may be for a Trial of his Patience and Resignation to what Providence sends, and to work him to a persuasion, that whatever is done, is for the best; and that God being infinitely wise and good, has contrived and order'd it so, as a very proper means to benefit and save his Soul.

If he be a Man, whom he has observed to be remiss in his Duty, and regardless of God and his future welfare (in case his Condition will bear it) he puts such a one in mind of his for-

mer neglects; admonishes him to implore the Divine Pardon for the time *past*; and to put on holy Resolutions of taking up, and being better for the time *to come*. He tells him withall, that in all likelihood, this was the *cause* of his illness, which God intended by way of *Summons* and *Alarm*, that the danger might reduce and ingage him to take refuge in that, which he had hitherto laid aside, *Repentance* and *Religion*.

If he be one who is found sensible of all this already, then he imitates God's Example, *not to quench the smoking Flax, nor break the bruised Reed*. Here he deals *gently* with him, commends and confirms him in his thoughts; persuades him that God's end in this Sickness is answered; wishes him to persevere in the Notion he has got of the Divine Mercy, and conjures him when restored to his former health and strength to make good those Vows of a *New Life*, which then he has, or ought to have made, *lest a worse thing should come upon him*.

Sometimes the Sense of God's afflicting hand is drove too far, the *Rod* is turned into a *Scorpion*, and the Subtile Tempter discovering an Inclination in the Patient, to be sorry for his Miscarriages and Sins, he *transports* a Pious thought, and makes it degenerate into *black Despair*. So that, what at first set out for Mercy, is immediately forced back with the sad News of an *unalterable State*; that his Case will admit no pity; that his heart is hardened to impenitency; that he is already sentenced, and 'tis in vain to expect Pardon. Here my Friend thinks it enough to find the Person so industrious and curious to dissect the Sins he is chargeable with, and that the evil Spirit is so active to abet and assist him in this melancholy work; for his part therefore he aggravates not; he accuses not; but if he allows the *least Sin* to be *deadly without repentance*, so he tells him the *greatest* is pardonable. He bids him remember, that he has an infinite Redeemer, whom he disgraces by thinking him unable to intercede with his Father effectually for him. The shedding of his Blood was price enough to ransom *Ten thousand Worlds*, for these have *limits*, but his Merits are *boundless*. He sets before him *David's Adultery* and *Murder*; *Jonah's Disobedience*, and *Peter's Fail*. He cannot charge himself with Sins of this complexion; but if he could, *those Men*, *those Sinners* are saved, and he has the *very same Saviour*. Thereupon he presses him to anchor there; and though his *heart condemns* him, yet he must not forget that *God is greater than his heart*, and will imbrace the penitent Sinner. He exhorts him to fix his Eye on *Jesus Christ*; and if he doth not perceive the *Lord* presently coming to him, it is because he must call the more, *cry the louder* with the blind Man in the Gospel: *Thou Son of David have mercy on me*. He tells him

him for his Comfort that his Remorse is one part of Repentance, but he must not stay there, and distrust the Almighty Goodness, whose *Grace* hath brought him thus far in his way, and who expects should pray, That he who has begun this Work in him would go further, and bring it in due time to a happy conclusion.

But if the Party has a greater sense of his *outward Pain*, than of the *Sin* which first caused it, and prefers the ease of his *Body*, before the Peace of his Soul, and so repines and murmurs at his present Condition, then he judges it highly necessary to let him know, that what he now undergoes is far short of the Torments of the Damned; and for that reason, he ought not only to submit with Patience, but to be very thankful, that God so graciously sends *those* to put him in mind, and as it is to be hoped, to prevent the *latter*. It is not to be denied, but the Pangs and Tortures of a Fit of Sickness are very unwelcome to Flesh and Blood, sore Evils and heavy *Burdens* to those who are compelled to carry them. But would it not be a lamentable Instance of God's Favour, to let a Man be hurried to the other World, without the least Notice, without the shortest Opportunity to make his Peace with Heaven? These Agonies in Sickness are the Messengers of God to give him warning; and can he complain of a warning intended chiefly to keep him out of Hell?

Thus, and to this Effect, he discourses with his sick Brethren, according as he discovers the Temper of their *Mind*, and the State of their *Body*. And before he takes his leave, he earnestly desires them all to consult their *Minister*, who is an *Officer of God*, and who by virtue of that Office will be much more able to apply to their several Sores an effectual Cure.

If his Neighbour be *poor*, and such as he can go to, he lays before him the Uncertainty of Humane Affairs, and the common Events of Providence, which makes a Man a *Prince* to day, and to *morrow* a *Beggar*. Nothing, saith he, befalls us but by Divine Appointment; and therefore our wisest way is to rely on his Conduct, and be persuaded, that though our present Circumstances be very strait, yet God has something better in store for those, who humbly and patiently wait for it. However this is Matter of Comfort, that God has *two* Places to make his People happy in; and the *Poor* who has it not in *this World*, has a surer claim to the *other*, if they do not lay a block in the way, and render themselves incapable of what he intends them hereafter. *Blessed are the Poor*, saith the Gospel. Nor do their wants now contradict that saying, because their Names are already entered in the *Book of Life*, and 'tis but a little while, and they shall go to enjoy what this

Doctrine

Doctrine intitles them to. But then they must not be *partial*: They must remember the *intire* Qualification, *Blessed are the Poor in Spirit*. There may be *Pride* in *Rags*, and *Humility* in *Purple*. And to be *poor* and *proud* is a contradiction too monstrous to be reconciled — For tho' God may be inclined to pity the Man, yet his Folly hinders it; and while his *Necessities* plead very powerfully in his behalf, his intolerable *Haughtiness* disoblige and forces God to let him continue in his low Condition. So that it ought to be the way of those under Poverty to reduce their *Spirit* to their present *Fortune*, and be as humble in *Soul*, as they seem to be in *Estate* and *Body*; and then, besides the many other Methods of Relief, this Frame of *Mind* will render their Case much more supportable. Thus, or after this manner, he applies himself to those whose Loftiness of Temper within is above the Sense of their Wants, and will suffer rather than speak out their Necessities, tho' loud enough in all respects, but from their own Mouths.

But if their *Reservedness* and *Silence* proceed from another Principle; and that through *Bashfulness* and *Modesty* they conceal what they undergo: Here he supposes it better to employ his *Eye* to discover what may be serviceable to 'em, and then take some opportunity to convey it for their relief without forcing a blush from 'em. And so he doth in the Instance before; otherwise, perhaps, the Party had rather lose the *Charity*, than understand from whence it comes, and to whom he is beholden for it. In both which Cases, he follows the Directions of the Gospel, to make his *Charity* a *Secret*; *That so God who seeth in secret may reward him openly*.

Where Poverty is *clamorous* (as it too often happens) and that he finds the necessitous Man, either murmuring at *Providence*, or censuring the unconcern and neglect of his *richer Neighbours*. First, He checks him for his Impiety towards God, and then for his own *Uncharitableness* to Man, which in Justice calls for the same Usage from other People. And (saith he) the reason peradventure, why your Neighbours are not so kind as you expect, may be, because they find you do not deserve it, as being too rough and surly toward them. And as for God's dealing with you after this manner, it ought to be remembred, that he could have made your Condition *worse*, and can yet make it much more miserable. If he has been please to use you no better, it is because your Notion of him will not bear it; and of this you give too plain a demonstration, in that you accuse his Goodness and Wisdom for not complying immediately with your expectations, and indulging your humour. It concerns you to be

contented with your *Station*, and that is a sure way to mend it; for if you show your self satisfied with whatever God doth, it will not be long but he will provide for you *better*. Admit you were under the *Widow's Case* at *Sarepta*, when she had only a *handful of Meal* to dress and eat, and then expected to die, because of the *Famine*; do you not read that *the handful of Meal did not waste, nor the Cruise of Oil fail, until the day that the Lord sent Rain upon the Earth* — We have the same God, and he has many miraculous ways to increase the *Loaves*, and feed those who depend on him. But then they must *depend* upon him, acquiesce in his *Methods*, believe him willing and able to relieve them, only the time is not yet come with respect to *their Good* and *his Glory*.

There are *other poor*, whose mind he may have no Opportunity to settle with *Discourses* of this Nature, yet these he takes care to ease with his *Purse*, and lets his *hand* speak seasonable Comfort to them. But then by *poor*, he means such needy Persons, as he *himself finds out*, rather than such as *find out him*. Those whom *Sickness, multitude of Children*, or some *Crosses of Providence*, make all their Industry, Care and Labour not sufficient to feed them; Those who if able, are very willing to take pains, but either have not *Work*, or the *Pay* is too little to support them, *These* ought to be encouraged, and God sometimes makes use of our Mediation to give them a Blessing in what they do. But as for them who make Begging a *Trade*, and spend as much time in publishing their Wants, as might serve to relieve them if they would employ those hands in *Work*, which they stretch out to receive an *Alms* with, these Mens Necessities my Friend suspects, at least thinks himself not much obliged to take notice of them, since their Hunger is their *Fault*, and not their *Affliction*. The *Charity* of the *Law* is great; and therefore he looks on an itinerant and common Beggar, with the same Eye as he sees a *disobedient Subject*, whom he must not countenance in an ill way, such as *Idleness* is, and which too often follows, *Lying, Stealing, and Murder*. So that tho' he well knows he is commanded to give, yet he is not to give blindly and rashly; he uses his Understanding to direct him in his *Charity*; and tho' as the *Steward of God*, he takes himself obliged to dispose of what he is intrusted with as God directs; yet he considers and weighs well what those Directions are, examines who are the proper Objects, and when he is to give, and in a word so contrives it that it may be *real Charity*; lest otherwise, what might be well intended, becomes a means either to introduce or continue *ill habits*, and thereby prove a *Curse* instead of a *Blessing*.

And there is one Instance more of *Charity*, which he never omits, and that is, on all Opportunities to remember all such People in his *Prayers* and therein commend them to the Goodness of God, beseeching him that he *would be pleased to comfort and relieve them in all their Necessities, give them Patience under their Sufferings, and an happy issue out of all their Afflictions.*

This done; or when these Works of the Day do not occur, he refreshes himself either by giving or receiving of a Visit from his Friend or Neighbour, which he conceives to be another kind of *Charity*, and whereby we continue that Kindness and Love which God has made a Debt between us, provided our Conversations be *innocent*, and becoming the day: * Or else he takes a Walk into the Fields, where he not only inspires and comforts the Body, but *beholding the glorious Lights of Heaven, the passing Clouds, the verdant Earth, and smiling Face of all things, he is transported into new Raptures of Devotion; and being affected very much with the admiration of the Creator, he is induced to long for the time, when he shall dwell with him, and behold him face to face without these interpositions.*

At his return home he betakes himself to his *Closet*, and there spends some convenient time in *Meditation* and *Reading*; but before he enters on that Work, he saith,

O Most Great and Gracious God, whose infinite Mercy it is, that I have this minute of my Life left me, I here appear in thy Presence, lamenting sadly that so much of my time is already lost either in doing ill, or doing nothing, or in doing that which hath been unprofitable and vain: O grant that I may redeem the hours that are past, and dispose of those that are to come in serving thee hereafter with a devout Heart, and earnest and passionate Affections; draw me off more and more from the Pleasures and Vanities of this Life, that I may the better settle my wavering and divided Soul upon thee alone. And since at this time I have here retired myself, that I might the more freely commune with my own Heart, and meditate on thine Holy Word, let thy Blessed Spirit assist me, that I may not only barely remember what I read, but digest it into the practice of an Holy Life, to the Comforts of my Soul, and the

* Such a Walk the Rabbins admit — *Vid. Lyr. ex Judeis ad Act. 1.*

the Glory of thy Name, thro' Jesus Christ. Amen.

After a light and frugal Supper, he calls his Family to his Common Evening Service, consisting of the Confession, so much of the Absolution as is fit for him to say, the Lord's Prayer the Collect for the day, the other two following it for the Evening-Prayer, that in the Litany, We humbly, &c. one or more taken from after the Offertory, one or more of the occasional Prayers, that for all Conditions of Men, with the other after it, the general Thanksgiving, any particular one, as occasion requires, St. Chrysostom's and the Blessing.

Then he goes to his Closet, and saith,

O God my everlasting Keeper, blessed be thy Name for ever-more; for thou madest me when I was nothing, thou redeemedst me when I was worse than nothing: Thou hast so multiplied thy Mercies on me through all the Minutes of my Life, that the Sun has never yet rose or set upon me without new Blessings from thee. And as thou hast done so much for me already, for which I pour out my very Soul in Thankfulness,

so in the same degree of lowest Humility, I humbly beseech thee to continue thy Care of me this Night, and so to shadow me under the Wings of thy Protection, that neither visible nor invisible Enemies, neither Sin nor Danger may approach to hurt me. That so when the joyful Light of the Day shall return again, I may rise in Safety with an unspotted Soul and a Body fitted to be the Temple of the Holy Ghost: Even so Lord Jesus. Amen.

O Most Holy Father, the Searcher of all hearts, who seest my down-lying as well as up-rising, Darkness and Light being both alike to thee, Let that Eye of thine which never slumbereth nor sleepeth, which hath been open upon me this Day, watch over me this Night: Let nothing disturb, or make me afraid. Let none of the Sins of the Day lie down with me, nor ever appear against me. Vouchsafe my Body due Refreshment, and let my Soul have her Songs in the Night; keep both from all the Works of Darkness, and let me be ever with thee, O Father, both here and hereafter, thro' thy Son my Saviour Jesus Christ, in whose Name and Words I further pray,

Our Father, &c.

Amen:

R p 2

At

*At undressing, he considers
the time coming when
his Body must return
naked to the Dust. And
this Thought confirms
him more in his Resolu-
tions of being humble
and penitent —*

Jesus Christ, who was crucified
and laid in the Grave for me, I
lay me down to rest, He bless
me and keep me ! He save me,
and raise me up again, and
bring me at last to Life Eter-
nal. *Amen.*

Lying down, he saith,

Ent'ring Bed, he saith,

Have Mercy on me, Lord,
now, and at the hour of death.

In the Name of our Lord *Amen.*

The End of the Office.

THIS is his Practice every *Lords-day*; and he
reaps the benefit of it, for as he is a *Reli-
gious*, so he is a *thriving Man*, God prospering
his Concerns and Business all the *rest of the Week*,
because he is so just to him, and makes this good
beginning of it.

B. I have one objection against him, and that
is, I find he begins the *Sabbath-day* from his *waking*
in the Morning, whereas I expected something
antecedent to that by way of *Preparation* to this
great Day, and which ought to be done the
Evening before; and so much the rather, because
anciently the Day was reputed to begin at † *Sa-
turday Evening*, and so to continue to the *Evening*
following, as appears from the *Canons* of divers
Synods, and the Opinion of several old Doctors.

A. True; seeing the *Lord's-day* is to be kept
Holy, that is, to be spent in the Service and Wor-
ship of God, for which it is set apart, it doth

† *Dies Dominicus à Vespera usq; ad vesperam servetur, &c.*
which is the substance of divers Councils. *Nos Dominicam à
spere Sabbati auspicamur.* Aug. de Temp.

concern us to consider, how we may spend it in a way most complying with that its design. And we shall easily, upon the very consideration of the nature of God's Worship, be convinced, that it is in a manner impossible for us to Sanctifie it duly, if we come unto it hot and reeking from our Worldly business. "For being we are to worship "God in Spirit and in Truth with all our Mind, "Soul and Strength, and in a word with our "whole Man; evident it is, we shall not be able "so to do, while our heart yet remains unempti- "ed of the World: And being unfit to worship "God, we are not, while so, in a due state to "sanctifie this Day. And therefore the Sancti- "fication of the Lord's-day, is to begin with Pre- "paration. And it depends much on these En- "quiries. First, Whether there be not some Sin or sad Miscarriage of the Week past, which lies unrepented of, and so may blast our next Days performances. And if there be, what are the aggravations and nature of it? that so we may be able to express our Repentance, and make *Restitution*, *Reconciliation* or the like, as we find there is need of it. Then take care to empty our *Heads* and *Hearts* of all worldly and distracting thoughts, and adjourn them to a Day better becoming them. And in a word, so to settle our Affairs, that neither *our selves* nor *Families* may have any avocations or matters to call away our Minds from the Holy Duties the next Day, to be express towards *God* and our *Brethren*. This indeed is to be done by usevery *Saturday Night*; and a good Man cannot safely go to Bed till all this is over. And if you will have it rather a *looking forward* to begin the *New Week*, than the *Recollection* of our selves, to see how we have spent the other, and a *preparation* to the first, rather than casting an Eye *backward*, for the settling of our Accounts, and for concluding well
the

the *latter*, the thing is the same; and as for its Name we will not quarrel about it: And if done in a way of provision for *Sunday*, the design is Pious, and I very much commend it as a *Christian Duty*. And if my Friend has omitted it under that *Stile*, I am very sure it is not because he doth not behave himself according to those particulars I mentioned, but he would not be suspected to incline to Superstition, and lay too great a stress on that *Nominal Preparation* so loud from the Mouths of some People, whom the *Sabbatarian Doctrine* hath not a little engaged, and who herein follow that *French Priest*, whom I had occasion to speak of before, and who according to a Law of *Canutus* to the same purpose, began the Festival from *Three in the Afternoon* † on *Saturday*, and continued it to *Sun-rising* on *Monday Morning*: which was a flight beyond the *Jews*, who reckoned the Day from *Evening to Evening*, Levit. 23. 32.

And no more doth the Letter of the Law of *Moses* call for, requiring the Sanctification of every *Seventh Day*, which if we understand in the *Natural Sense*, as consisting of 24 hours whether it commences from *Evening* with the *Athenians* and *Jews*, or from *Sun-rising* with the *Chaldeans*; or from *Noon* with the *Egyptians*, or *Mid-night* with the *Romans*, (whom we follow, and thereupon begin the *Lord's-day* immediately after 12 on *Saturday Night*,) provided we devote this proportion of time to the Honour of God, either *negatively* in forbearing all *Servile Work*, or *positively* in doing such things, as express and set forth the Service of the Day, we suppose *Sunday* fully enough observed, without exceeding the common limits of a *Natural Day*; nor do we think it in any wise

† From Eight a Clock on *Saturday Night*, to *Monday Morning*. L. C. J. Hales.

necessary to borrow from the days *before* and *after* it, to make it longer, than the Commandment it self has prescribed: But it is not unlikely, but if we, according to its *Equity*, take it for a *Civil Day*, from *Morning* to *Evening*, from the *Rising* to the *Setting* of the *Sun*, or from the hour we *begin* to *work* to *Bed time*, if we keep the Day with these terms or bounds, it agrees very well with the words of the Precept, which saith, *Six days shalt thou labour, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God* ——— So that the *Seventh Day* is to take its measure from the length of the other *Six*; and as much of these as we ordinarily allot for *Worldly Business*, so much of the *Seventh* we are to dedicate to God, and those Holy Works he hath set us to do

And being just to God in this proportion, the Question concerning *Climates*, and those Places where the Day is not distinguished by a constant *Succession* of Light and Darkeness, nor terminated by the *alternate Changes* of the *Rising and Setting Sun*, but one Day continues for several Months together; This, I say, need not disturb the Conscience, no more than the gaining or losing a Day in compassing the World, which the *Geographers* observe, must of necessity happen to those who sail from the *East* or from the *West*. In these and the like cases, we are onely to consider Time, in that manner, as *Nature* or *Custom* measures it, take due care to let God have his *Share* in the Dividend, and to let *his* part be as zealously used in Divine Works, as the *others* are in common.

According to our *Lord's Rule*, 12 hours are the Extent and Complement of a Day; but in this we consider the *Sun* at the *Aequinox*; in other Seasons the days are much *longer* or *shorter*; and I conceive they may be safely spent without regard to a precise hour; and though in *Winter* the Dimension is *short*
of

of what it is in *Summer*, yet as in our *Temporal* Affairs, so in our *Spiritual* too, one Season must make good the defect of another, that so the *Seventh* day may become intire.

As to the set hour of beginning the Day, the Church herein uses her Liberty. The Heathens by light of Nature, commenced *their* * *Festivals* about the *Rising of the Sun*, his appearance proclaiming the beginning of the Time for the Solemnity. And since the *Resurrection of Christ* is the ground and reason why we celebrate this Day, it better suits the Notion of this great Festival, to begin it near *the hour of his rising from the Dead*, though it be uncertain what hour exactly it was, otherwise we put the *Effect* before the *Cause*, and make the *Lord's-day* precede the *Resurrection*; which was the occasion of its Commencement.

But as to this, we need not trouble our selves with studying, when to *begin* or when to *end* this *Christian Sabbath*, whether at *Even*, *Mid-night*, or *Morning*; "He who having set his *Secular Affairs* "in such order, as they give no interruption to his " *Sunday Devotion*, goes to Bed with God on *Saturday Night*, and rises with him on *Sunday Morning*, and spends the Day in such like Exercises, as have been mentioned, may after he "has commended himself and his Family to God, "go to his rest on *Sunday Night*, without danger "of prophaneness, at his usual time. But I doubt I have more than one way tired your Patience, and therefore the Night drawing on, I will detain you no longer, especially considering the Time approaches to prepare for the *Lord's-day* to morrow, if it be not, as you may think, already begun.

Good Night.

* *Festa dies oritur, linguisq; animisq; favete,
Hec dicenda bono sint bona verba die.*

